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Missionary Principles and Practice

A Discussion of Christian Missions and of some Criticisms upon them

By Robert E. Speer

Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this volume is (1) to set forth some of the main principles of the mission movement on which it rests in its appeal at home and in its work abroad, (2) to apply these principles in some illustrative instances, especially to the conditions in China, with which men are now most familiar, and which many regard as putting the missionary enterprise to its conclusive test, (3) to suggest by a few sketches of mission fields and the results of mission work in life, both the need and power of the work, and (4) to enforce the duty and privilege of the serious attempt speedily to evangelize the world, and thus enable Christianity at once to display and to realize its divine mission to all mankind.

Some of the chapters of this book have appeared in the *Churchman,* the *Congregationalist,* the *Sunday School Times,* the *Homiletic Review,* the *Missionary Review,* and other papers. The concluding chapter appears also in *Twentieth Century Addresses,* a volume containing the addresses delivered by the appointment of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in recognition of the advent of the Twentieth Century, before the General Assembly in Philadelphia, on May 14th, 1901.

The convictions that underlie these discussions are (1) that Jesus Christ is the only Saviour and Lord of human life, and that it is as certain that He is to rule the whole world as it is that the world needs to be

redeemed and rightly ruled, and that He alone is able to redeem and rule it rightly; and (2) that Christ is Master not only of the life that now is, but also of that which is to come, that He is the Way, the Truth and the Life, that no man cometh unto the Father but by Him, that out of Him there is salvation neither here nor hereafter, while

> "In Him is life provided
> For all mankind."

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Missionary Principles and Practice

I

MISSIONS—PRIMARY AND ESSENTIAL IN CHRISTIANITY

THE last command of Christ is often set forth as alike the primary and conclusive argument for missions. What was the last command of His lips must have been one of the nearest desires of His heart. But the work of missions is our duty, not chiefly because of the command of Christ's lips, but because of the desire of His heart. He bade His Church evangelize the world because He wanted it evangelized, and He wanted it evangelized because He knew that it needed to be evangelized. Our duty in the matter is determined, not primarily by His command, but by the facts and conditions of life which underlie it. Even if Jesus had not embodied the missionary duty of the Church in the "great commission," we should be under obligation to evangelize the world by reason of the essential character of Christianity and its mission to the world.

There are minds, doubtless, to which a verbal enactment is more solemn and coercing than the moral principle which lies back of it and finds expression in it, but which would exist still with equally binding force if the verbal enactment were wanting. The command, "Lie not," does not create the obligation not to lie. That exists irrespective of its statement in a commandment. But there are, of course, uses of the formal declaration. It springs of necessity from the existence

of the principle back of it and clutches minds which would evade or be unable to appreciate the unexpressed but vital principle. To say that Jesus plainly and unequivocally ordered the Church to take up the missionary enterprise is to satisfy these minds and close the question of duty.

But it is never wise to rest duty upon mere enactment. "Arbitrary orders," said Confucius, "are opposed to good government." To feed duty with emotion and power it must be nourished upon the reason for a course of action, not upon a legal prescription of it alone. Men who assent to the missionary enterprise on the strength of the last command of Christ alone, or primarily, will give it little support, and their interest in it will soon become as formal as the ground on which it rests. The spirit of Christianity is higher than legalism, and it is of the spirit of legalism to press injunctions of courses of action where the underlying principles of action are unseen or unfelt. The men who have done the work of God in the world are men in whom the Spirit of God was at work, and who would have done God's work even in the absence of expressed legislation as to the nature of the work God wanted done. So also in the Christian life we are called to possess, not primarily, the behaviour of Christ, but His mind, from which the appropriate behaviour will inevitably flow.

The essential thing in the missionary enterprise, accordingly, is not simple repetition of the last command of Christ and the earnest affirmation: "These are the Church's marching orders, and that's an end of it." That is not the end of it. To suppose that unceasing reassertion of Christ's last command and nominal acceptance of it as binding by the Church would bring us any nearer the evangelization of the world is

a vain hope. We shall come nearer to that desired goal just in proportion as we appreciate the fundamental place missions hold in Christianity, and as our hearts respond warmly to the essential principles of the spirit of Christ, which are inseparably interwoven with missionary obligations. And this is the only way we shall ever come any nearer to it.

If in our conviction and experience we are sure that in Christ we possess a great good, then we will give Him to the world—not otherwise, no matter how much we may talk about last commands and "great commissions."

If Christ means nothing to us, we shall surely not go to the trouble of taking Him to the world. Christianity, of course, asserts that Christ means everything to the believer, and surely if He does, the believer will be driven by an overmastering desire to make known to all the glad tidings of so great a salvation. The missionary enterprise in this light is the surest evidence of the esteem in which Christ is held. The Church that is doing nothing to extend His knowledge to the heathen world is furnishing such proof that Christ means little to it as no amount of verbal worship or protestation of devotion can annul. The fundamental question in connection with missions is this: Is Christ of any worth? That is the fundamental question of Christianity. If He is of worth to us, He is of worth to all men, and must be made known to all men.

But more than this is to be said. Christianity not only declares that Christ is of worth. It declares that He is indispensable. "I am the way, the truth and the life," said Jesus. "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." "No man knoweth the Son but the Father, and neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to

reveal Him." "There is none other Name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." Now, after all that the most evasive exegesis can do in divorcing these words from all implication of the necessity of a knowledge of the historic Christ, there remains an unavoidable assertion of the indispensable worth of Jesus. And do we not believe that He is of indispensable worth? Will we think that a possible redemption through an unknown Christ wrought by the grace of the God of love in behalf of the unevangelized will suffice for them while we treasure the knowledge of the historic Saviour for ourselves? If such a hypothetical redemption will suffice for them, why will it not suffice for our own children? If Christ is worth so much that we teach Him to our own children, why do we leave out other children? And what sort of a redemption is it for which men hope for the heathen through the application of the mercy of God in Christ outside the preaching of the gospel? It has no effect upon their present lives. Granted that the divine mercy applies to all faithful and aspiring hearts the virtue of Christ, shall we deny to the heathen world the priceless possession of the gospel, not as a response to faith and aspiration, but as the source of it? The gospel is the summons to life as well as the answer of life. Its indispensable worth consists in both of these.

And it is not wise to deal with this solemn business only in these euphemistic terms. The world is full of good humour, of kindliness, of neighbourly trust and cheerful acceptance of what comes, but it is also a lost world, full of the evident hell of sin, of damned lives, of ruin and utter death. Czolgosz is no lonely instance of deliberate and detestable crime. Passing by the abyss of wickedness which defies religion in Christian lands and flourishes under its ban, there are

greater abysses in heathen lands which flourish under the blessings of their religions. Let the Tantras and Saktism suffice for illustration, or the carvings on the Temple of the Rajah of Nepaul in the most sacred city of the Hindus. There are those who deprecate the use of the word "heathen," but it is a good word, of reputable lineage and of just and honest meaning. If the derivative sense of the word is sad and sorrowful, it is because the facts have made it so. And no repudiation of the word can provide an escape from the terrific grip of the facts of life back of it. It is not necessary to resort to any professional statement of these facts. Take a random quotation from one of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Letters to Young People,* describing a little Samoan boy named Arick: "It was one of those dreadful days of rain, the sound of it like a great waterfall, or like a tempest of wind blowing in the forest; and there came to our doorway two runaway black boys seeking refuge. In such weather as that my enemy's dog (as Shakespeare says) should have had a right to shelter. But when Arick saw the two poor rogues coming, with their empty stomachs and drenched clothes, one of them with a stolen cutlass in his hand, through that world of falling water, he had no thought of pity in his heart. Crouching behind one of the pillars of the verandah, to which he clung with his two hands, his mouth drawn back into a strange sort of smile, his eyes grew bigger and bigger, and his whole face was just like one word MURDER in big capitals."

No denial of doctrine, no undefined hopes can break the force of the simple, stern evidence of a great section of human life. As an English missionary in China, Dr. Gibson, writes in a recent book on Missions in China, one of the sanest and ablest of recent mission-

ary books: "Whatever dim solace we may gather on this subject from Scripture, and whatever half-formed thoughts we may cherish, we cannot but feel, as we look around us in a heathen country, that, without trenching on things too deep for us, the burden of these millions of souls is crushing enough. We see in the daily life and character of the people around us a profound need of the gospel as a new law of life and of the living Christ as the only Saviour who can through it bring life and immortality to clear light."

If this is true—and, as I have said, nobody will believe it, or, believing it, will be in the least moved by it, who has not felt in his own soul the indispensable worth of Christ—what shall be said of any Christians who do not share in the missionary enterprise? This, that they are either culpably ignorant and thoughtless, culpable in that either they or their teachers are to blame, or else that their Christianity is a fictitious thing, a sham, a travesty. And in either case, consider the moral horror of it. Here are men who profess to possess a divine salvation, pure and perfect, and to believe that all men need this salvation and that it is adequate for all and intended for all, and who yet do nothing to give it to those who have an equal right to it and a need for it only less because those who are thus withholding it are in danger of greater condemnation. As the missionary I have already quoted writes: "I see two men, one born without his own choice in China, taking up his inheritance of a shallow, narrow life, a life of the earth, earthy, with neither the gloom nor the glory which are cast by the light and shadow of the unseen world, and to whom the word of revelation has never come; another, born in a Christian country, reared in an atmosphere of Christian piety, learning from his earliest years the words of life and living under the powers of the world to come; and I remem-

ber that the second has been commanded by the just Lord to tell his brother the way of life, but he has been preoccupied, busy here and there, has had, as Browning says 'his beetles to collect,' and for eighteen centuries has forgotten to tell his brother." Let us look at that picture and characterize properly, if we can, the atrocious loathsomeness of the moral judgment of men who can withhold without compunction from the world the best news that ever came into it.

The primary place of missions in the Christian Church appears in a new light at this point. The work is required by the essential nature of the gospel. But, furthermore, its neglect involves outrage upon the essential moral integrities. The missionary spirit is the spirit of simple justice, generosity and fair dealing, while the Christian Church or the Christian heart from which that spirit is absent is guilty of a certain malfeasance, tort or delict, not less real and awful because recognized by no human law. The law of God recognizes it and gives it proper characterization in the blunt and fearless language it never hesitates to use. "If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" And those words mean, as the late Bishop Westcott pointed out in his commentary, that "the claim to the knowledge of God without obedience and the claim to the love of God without action involve not only the denial of what is known to be true, but falseness of character." Missions, accordingly, are not only the expression of the Church's interest in the world; they are the evidence of her love of her Lord and the proof of the honour and integrity of her own life. If the missionary spirit is lacking, the necessary inference is easily drawn, and it displays the fundamental place of missions in the Christian Church.

II

COMMON HONESTY AND FOREIGN MISSIONS

WE are crying for more supernaturalism, while we have already more than we are willing to use. We are magnifying the withholdings of the sovereignty of God. "The set time to favour Zion has not come," some say. "Pour out Thy Spirit, O God," others cry. "Endue us with power," pray many. And all the while God, who gave His Son to die for the world, who longs to have all men saved and brought to the knowledge of the truth, who poured His Spirit upon His Church at Pentecost, who set the face of the Church toward the outermost nations, and whose "set time to favour Zion" is now, always now, waits with His Son, to see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied. Why does He wait? Who makes Him wait? His own sovereign will? Does He deny Himself the consummation of the mission of Jesus? "Ye would not come unto Me, that ye might have life," said Jesus. Men kept themselves from life. And if the Church is powerless to-day, it is not because God is withholding from her something for which she longs, something essential to the evangelization of the world and the accomplishment of the ends that are dear beyond everything to God. The want is in her own will. The enduement of power is hers on condition of obedience. It is given—waiting only to be taken. To refuse obedience or to postpone, pending the receipt of an equipment of whose reception obedience is the indispensable condition and the only method, is a course of conduct which must impugn either our intelligence and

serious thoughtfulness, or our common honesty. And in a matter of this sort, where so much hangs upon the issue, ignorance or carelessness or frivolous thought may be regarded, perhaps, as a wrong and dishonesty.

I venture to wonder, therefore, whether, after all, the Church is so anxious for an enduement of power; whether when the condition of securing it is so plain and yet so calmly ignored, the question of greatest importance may not be Common Honesty and Foreign Missions.

Now the Church should be wholly filled with the Holy Ghost. The bodies of Christians are called by St. Paul "Temples of the Holy Ghost." "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?" "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" In a truer sense, even, the Church is His temple. "Be filled with the Spirit." The whole New Testament teaching regarding the indwelling fulness of the Holy Spirit, teaching revived in our day in the most accentuated individualistic form, applies with yet clearer propriety to the Church which is Christ's body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. For the Church to be barren of the Spirit, or to be poor in the Spirit, is in the nature of an abdication of function and life. To maintain the form empty of the all-enriching Spirit is a species of dishonesty sure to bear fruit in all sorts of fictions, deceptions and lies. If the escape of this, and the affluent endowment of the Church with the power and wealth and graces of the Spirit of God are dependent upon obedience to the great missionary commission, and are not to be found elsewhere, howsoever prayed for or solicited, surely neglect of that commission may arouse in the minds of thoughtful men serious inquiry as to the moral integ-

rity of any body of intelligent Christians guilty of such neglect.

"Intelligent Christians," I have said. For there was a time when the missionary vision was lost, and men, as honest as Paul when he guarded the garments of Stephen's murderers or harried the disciples near and far, denied on this ground or that the missionary obligation. "To spread abroad the knowledge of the gospel," said Dr. George Hamilton, in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1796, "among barbarous and heathen nations, seems to me highly preposterous, in as far as it anticipates, nay, as it even reverses, the order of nature. Men must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths. Philosophy and learning must, in the nature of things, take precedence. Indeed, it should seem hardly less absurd to make revelation precede civilization in the order of time, than to pretend to unfold to a child the '*Principia*' of Newton, ere he is made at all acquainted with the letters of the alphabet. These ideas seem to me alike founded in error; and, therefore, I must consider them both equally romantic and visionary."

And there are men to-day who, on Hamilton's ground, or on grounds of their own, endeavour to escape the searching swing of the last command of Christ and the missionary exaction of the expansive and universal genius of Christianity. It would be un-Christian and fatuous to impugn the sincerity and honesty of these men. It is Christian and necessary to affirm that, at the bottom, the ground of their hostility or indifference is a want of a high and scrupulous sense of common honesty.

For if Christ be to us what our Christian faith affirms, what is the denial of Him to the nations or the

withholding of Him from the nations, but the grossest form of cruelty and wrong? He is the only Saviour of men from their sins. We declare: "There is none other Name given under heaven among men by which we must be saved." We read in our churches and in our homes out of a Book we call divine. But if this is true, or we believe it to be true, the missionary enterprise follows as a matter not of spiritual enduement or revival but of simple honesty. Christianity is a religion of salvation. It claims to be able to save the world. It claims that it alone can save the world. For it to neglect to endeavour to do so, is an abdication of its pre-eminent place. Universality cannot longer be acknowledged to belong to it. Its Christ shrivels into a little ethnic Saviour.

In common honesty, the man who does not feel constrained to spread the knowledge of Christ among mankind should surrender Christ wholly. What right has he to Christ? If Christ is not able to save the world, He is not able to save a single soul. If He can save a soul, it is awful to withhold Him from any, even the lowest. And no soul can honourably claim His power in his behalf, who proposes, when he has secured it, to let the rest of mankind struggle on without the Saviour whom he believes to be unique and indispensable, but whom he is content to have obtained for himself alone.

Or rather, for this truth should be stated reversely, every man, Christian or not, in a land like ours, owes so much to Christ, in the way of personal salvation, renewing moral teaching, holy, civilizing power and general enlightenment, that in common honesty he ought to desire to pass his blessings on to his brethren. For Christ and all that flows from Him is in the nature of a trust, vested in the Church for the benefit of the

whole world and the human race. To withhold from men what God has given, and what is in our hands as trustees for all mankind, is what, to put it candidly, men denounce as dishonesty in lower spheres of life. Can that be tolerable with God that is abominable with man?

We shall come to the enduement of power through Foreign Missions. We shall come to Foreign Missions through common honesty. A revival of simple, square-footed integrity is the real missionary need of our time and of all times. It is the only need. God adds all the rest.

III

THE NEED OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD FOR CHRIST

ESCAPE for a moment from the common and unexamined notions of our Christian faith and view them with fresh and candid scrutiny. How instantly startling these two questions become, Why should God have sent His Son out of His presence? What would my life be, stripped of Christ? Let us not accept at once and with only casual thought the natural replies. Let us think of God as withholding His Son from the world and the life of man, and of the possibility of a Christless life for ourselves. Perhaps no one of us can do this. The mental strength, the frank, intellectual honesty necessary for it are so rare. But if any man can do it, and justly conceive where and what his own life would be without the Son of God as the light and the Lord of it, and the light and the Lord of its preparation for eighteen centuries, I have already spoken my message to that man. As he shudders at the thought of such a gloom and poverty for himself, he will remember that the vast majority of his fellow-creatures are thus dark and poor.

Staking the chance of missionary sympathy on this cast is hazarding much. I am aware of this. If Christ means little to a man, it is natural that He should be judged of little value to the world, and that the world's ignorance of Him should be deemed of light account. But if Christ mean much, as to true men of His Church He must mean all, then He must be held to mean as much to the world which He came not to condemn

but to save. That God thought the world's need so great that He sent His Son to be its Saviour; that Jesus Christ, our Lord, so felt that need that it lay like a woe upon His soul and won His sacrifice; and that the passing of Christ from our life would be as the fall of doom,—may not one rest on these grounds, in speaking to true men, the appeal for the mission? Our loyalty to the mission is the measure of our judgment of the Son of God.

The world needs the mission now. A thousand millions of men, sinning, suffering, struggling, need a Saviour, helpful, tender, sufficient. He came for them, but they have never heard of Him. It is not a matter of speculation as to eternal destiny. There is a righteous Judge. It is a matter of present want and ignorance and death; and I speak not of the Bible's teaching as to men's condition, but of actual fact and experience. When Jesus said, "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." He was not setting arbitrary limits. He was simply saying what all history has shown, and is proving to-day over all the world, that only by Christ do men come to the Father. In all the non-Christian world Christ's is the only force preaching righteousness, teaching purity, creating love, drawing men Father-ward. In studying the non-Christian religions one wants to think well of them, to see the best that is in them. They force the inevitable conclusion that there is no best. Their elements of truth have been counteracted and distorted by their error. Their original simplicity and fervour have died away into gross superstition and fanaticism. Their own prophets condemn them. Swami Vivekananda has recently told the people of Madras what Buddhism became in India, "The most hideous ceremonies, the most horrible, the most obscene books that human

hands ever wrote or the human brain ever conceived, the most bestial forms that ever passed under the name of religion, have all been the creation of degraded Buddhism." While of Islam, one who was not a missionary, but who long lived among Mohammedans, has said with fullest charity, "There are to be found in Mohammedan history all the elements of greatness in faith, courage, endurance, self-sacrifice. But enclosed within the narrow walls of a rude theology and a barbarous polity, from which the capacity to grow and the liberty to modify have been sternly cut off, they work no deliverance upon the earth. They are strong only for destruction. When that work is over, they either prey upon each other or beat themselves to death against the bars of their own prison house. No permanent dwelling-place can be erected on a foundation of sand; and no durable or humanizing polity upon a foundation of fatalism, despotism, polygamy and slavery." Even at their best, their highest appraisement, what are the religions of the world? If they be lights at all, they are but broken. Yea,

> "They are but broken lights of Thee,
> And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

The spiritual insufficiency of the non-Christian religions fills the heathen world with dreariness and pathos. The memory of it tinges one's life with sadness. And that sadness is quickened into indignation and pity at the recollection of the awful suffering and wrongs which are the products of these religions. There is a superficial contentment, and the suffering of centuries has schooled the people of the East into a quiet, unresisting endurance of what they have come to regard as part of their unavoidable lot. And the

men of the East, if they are not masters of their own suffering, are at least masters of the suffering of others, and so it bears not so heavily on them. But the women and children of the East are the ones who wait for the mission, and who need its coming. The judgment of their need, which one of Mr. Kipling's creations expresses of India, is not too severe: "What's the matter with this country is not in the least political, but an all around entanglement of political, social and moral evils and corruptions, all more or less due to the unnatural treatment of women. You can't gather figs from thistles; and so long as the system of infant marriage, the prohibition of the re-marriage of widows, the life-long imprisonment of wives in a worse than penal imprisonment, and the withholding from them of any kind of education or treatment as rational beings continues, the country cannot advance a step. Half of it is morally dead, and worse than dead, and that is just the half from which we have a right to look for the best impulses. It is right here where the trouble is, and not in any political considerations whatsoever. The foundations of their life are rotten—utterly, bestially rotten. The men talk of their rights and privileges. I have seen the women that bore these very men; and again —may God forgive the men!"

The mission now depends upon men. Christ committed it to them. He launched it and went away, saying as He went, not to apostles only, but to all His disciples, "Bear it to the uttermost parts of the earth." We have not borne it. Saints, martyrs and heroes have given their lives to it, but we have not borne it. To what extent are our lives now committed to it? Four hundred millions of our fellow creatures in China, three hundred millions in India, one hundred

and forty million Mohammedans outside of India, and millions of men in other lands are ignorant that the mission has come—the mission of the Father's revelation in the Son to all. They wait for it.

> "The restless millions wait
> The light whose dawning
> Maketh all things new:
> Christ also waits.
> But men are slow and late.
> Have we done what we could?
> Have I? Have you?"

If Christ is our life, and we have been able to find life, full and abundant, only in Him; if there is no other name given under heaven among men whereby they must be saved; if, as Keith Falconer said, "vast continents are shrouded in almost utter darkness, and hundreds of millions suffer the horrors of heathenism or of Islam;" if the Saviour of the world included these millions in the sweep of His love and sacrifice; if they are the children of the Father who would not that any should perish, but that all should enter into life, and for that end has made us the stewards of the mission; and if life is to us not a play and a trifle, but the solemn doing of our Father's business, then I ask, in the Master's name, Is there not need that we give ourselves to the mission of the world's redemption?

"I came not to condemn, but to save the world." "I am the light of the world." "The bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world." "Go ye into all the world." So Jesus spoke. To minister Him to the world, not to a parish, a state, a nation only, but to the world, that is the mission. Truly as He is our Lord, we the men of His Church are His

brethren and servants in all His sympathies and services, and we must hunger for the world's redemption as He hungered for it, and look out upon its woes and want with His pity, and work for it with a love of sacrifice like His. As the God of the wide salvation is our God, the God of our heart and will, the mission of the world's salvation, must be our life and passion.

IV

WHAT ARE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES TRYING TO DO?

"WHY do you send missionaries to these people, anyway?" asked the reporter. He had come into my office for news about China, and then, apologizing for the directness of his question by saying that he really was interested to know what our reasons were, he asked why the missionary boards sent these people out to foreign lands. I explained to him that it was the churches, not the boards, that sent them, that the boards were merely the agencies of the churches, and that the movement of which the missionaries were the principal agents lay imbedded in the very nature of the Christian Church and of Christianity itself. "But these people have their own customs and opinions," said the reporter. "Why do you go to disturb them? And as to morals, they are no worse than New York. I have been in South Africa," he continued, "and those black people were faithful in their family relationships, and their women were careful. No," he replied in answer to my question, "they were not exactly married, and they separated when they wanted to without the bother of a divorce court; but there wasn't any such immorality as there is right here. And look at China; she's a settled, civilized country. Why do you send missionaries there?"

Well, why do we send them? To say that Christ commanded it only raises the question, Why did He command it? And it is altogether right to ask this, for it was not Christ's way to issue arbitrary orders without clear and justifying reasons for them which

made convincing appeal to the moral nature of man.

We do not send Christian missionaries to clothe the heathen or to alter their style of dress. In China the women dress more modestly and sensibly than ours do, though not so cleanly. Elsewhere the women do not dress so properly, and there are many improvements resulting from missionary influences, but the missionaries do not go out as dress reformers.

We do not send missionaries to improve the industrial conditions of Asia and Africa. They have introduced American fruits in Northern China and American vegetables in many lands. They have taught new industries to thousands of boys and girls in India and Africa, and have improved the native industries everywhere. But our missionaries would not have gone simply to accomplish these ends.

Nor do the missionaries go out to reform politics. In spite of Mr. Meredith Townsend and other publicists whose generalizations exceed in ambitiousness the accuracy and extent of their particular knowledge of facts, it may be maintained that it was Christianity, whether through the missionaries or not is of little consequence, that has transformed Japan. And when it suits some political writers to make missions a scapegoat for the troubles in China, or to hide their own follies or misdeeds by mud-flinging at missionaries, the only class of people whose record for righteousness and sympathy in China is clean, we are told that the reform movement of the young Emperor was due to missionaries. Both Japan and China have been profoundly shaped politically by missions, and India perhaps even more. "No person can be more anxious to promote the spread of Christianity in India than we are," said Viscount Halifax, when Secretary of State

for India. "Independently of Christian considerations, I believe that every additional Christian in India is an additional bond of union with this country and an additional source of strength to the Empire." But the missionaries are not political propagandists. They do not go out for the purpose of turning monarchies into republics, far less to turn independent states into dependencies upon European or American governments.

And, again, we do not send missionaries to reform morals or check social abuses. There is abundant room for such work. My friend, the reporter, erred in his supposed facts. Christian lands are infinitely cleaner, morally, than other lands. Where every man may have a private brothel under the forms of law as in Mohammedan lands, and call it his family; or where divorce is so easy that it becomes the end of one out of every three marriages, as in Japan; or where polygamy and divorce are both unnecessary because of a general moral rottenness, as in India, there is no localization of vice or such sharp line between it and virtue as makes the immorality of Christian lands stand out so startlingly. In quantity and heinousness the moral evils of heathenism are worse than the moral evils of Christendom. But beyond this, the worst vice of Asia exists under the shadow and sanction of religion. In America it is in the face and against the protest of religion. The foulest cities of Asia are the holiest —Mecca, Meshed and Benares. And some of its sacred books are most intolerable. It is true of one of the sacred accounts of the greatest Hindu god that it is so indecent that the British Government has forbidden its translation. But morality is merely the product of the inner life, and missionaries do not go to heathen lands to try to amend behaviour, any more than a husband-

man regards it as sane horticulture to go out and tie fruit on the limbs of his trees. His aim is to make the trees produce the fruit.

Now it does not affect the truth of what has been said to allege that the missionaries do interest themselves in the physical and moral condition of the people, and that they do introduce changes of dress and industry and medical treatment, and that their work does spread enlightenment and make the people discontented with ignorance, injustice, tyranny and wrong. All these things result from the missionary work, because the missionary goes out to sow the seed of the plant of which these are the leaf and flower and fruit.

The primary business of the missionary is a religious business. Missions are the product of the conviction that Christianity is a divine life in man, and that every Christian is different from other men, not in this or that external, but in the fact that he is alive and other men are dead. The Church may have become so much like the world as to have lost sight of this truth, but the New Testament is falsehood and delusion if there is not in the Christian the power of a supernatural life which is absent from the non-Christian. It is to give men that life that the Church sends out missionaries, and all kinds of accessory and blessed consequences flow from missionary work because the life of Christ planted in men cannot be restrained from producing such results.

This is what Christian missionaries are trying to do. Men may say they are trying to proselytize, if they wish to say so. But proselytizing with Christians is not the attempt to lead men to change their opinions or their mode of worship. It is an attempt at resurrection. The missionary is taking life to dead men,

and life, not in the sense of quickened intellectual movement or refined moral taste, but in a supernatural sense. Christianity is a personal divine life dwelling in the lives of men. In this matter Christianity refuses to be classed with other religions. It will admit that there is good in them. But it charges evil there and denies it in itself. It recognizes truth in them. But it charges falsehood there and denies it in itself. And the good that is in them it claims for itself, and also exemption from all their evils and error. Yet this is a trifling part of its claims. It asserts that they are only systems. It is a life. They are dead. It is quick with divine presence. God is in it in a sense above and beyond the sense in which he is everywhere and ruling all things.

Of course, this is fanaticism in the eye of the modern world. But it is not the fanaticism of missions only. It is the essential character and claim of Christianity. To the extent that Christianity at home abates or betrays this claim it is untrue to itself, and it surrenders its power.

Missionaries and their supporters may lose sight of their true aim and duty. Political or philanthropic or social motives may be dominant with them. It is not wrong to be touched with sympathy for the famine orphans of India, or the child-wives of Moslem harems, or the sick and uncared-for sufferers of many lands. But such sympathy is wise and discriminating when it does not content itself with relieving the symptoms merely, but strikes at the disease. To give all the sick people in China to-day the benefit of Western medical science would be a purely temporary measure. The missionary theory is to plant in the Chinese people those principles of life which will bear their fruitage in such sympathies and ministries in China and in-

digenous thereto as now bless every Christian land.

There may easily be waste or comparatively unprofitable expenditure of life and toil in missionary effort through our failure to discern true principles. Philanthropic and educational work are worth while as they help to plant deep in the life of individuals and nations the supernatural life of Christianity. If they merely ripple the surface of social life, or end in comfort or clothes or cleanliness, they serve a not useless purpose; but they are not in line with the real work of missions, which is the lodgment in human life of the supernatural life of Christ.

Whenever men believe in Christianity as a unique supernatural life, they will go out into the world with it. When they don't, they won't. My reporter friend was a heathen, alike in his knowledge and in his experience of Christianity. He did not know what it was. Neither books nor men nor his own heart had told him. To such a man Christian missions will naturally appear unintelligible. And there are many such in the Church. The fact that they do not thrill with the missionary spirit shows that they do not understand what Christianity is.

What Christian missions are trying to do is the direct and necessary consequence of this view of Christianity. Of course if Christianity is not this, but merely a moral system, finer than the moral systems of other religions and richer by the superior wonder and admiration which Jesus has awakened, but, after all, the same in kind as they, indifference to its extension is intelligible—and also indifference to its acceptance. A religion that is not so good that all the world ought to have it, is not so good that any one man must have it. But if Christianity is what the New Testa-

ment represents, and the experience of millions of Christians proves, it is the business of all who have received it to support the missionaries who are trying, not to bear this or that fruit of Christianity to heathen lands, but to plant there its roots, that they may produce among each people the living works of God.

V

THE AIM OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS*

IT is the aim of foreign missions that is to be defined, and not the aim of the Christian Church in the world, or of the Christian nations of the world. There are many good and Christian things which it is not the duty of the foreign missionary enterprise to do. Some things are to be laid, from the beginning, upon the shoulders of the new Christians; some are to be left to be discharged in due time by the native Christian churches that shall arise, and there are many blessings, political, commercial and philanthropic, which the Christian nations owe to the heathen world which are not to be paid through the enterprise of foreign missions. It is the aim of a distinctive, specific movement that we are to consider.

It will help us in defining it to remind ourselves, for one thing, that we must not confuse the aim of foreign missions with the results of foreign missions. There is no force in the world so powerful to accomplish accessory results as the work of missions. Wherever it goes it plants in the hearts of men forces that produce new lives; it plants among communities of men, forces that create new social combinations. It is impossible that any human tyranny should live where Jesus Christ is King.

All these things the foreign mission movement accomplishes; it does not aim to accomplish them. I read in a missionary paper a little while ago that the foreign mission that was to accomplish results of permanent value, must aim at the total reorganization of

* An address before the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York, April 23, 1900.

the whole social fabric. This is a mischievous doctrine. We learn nothing from human history, from the experience of the Christian Church, from the example of our Lord and His apostles to justify it. They did not aim directly at such an end. They were content to aim at implanting the life of Christ in the hearts of men, and were willing to leave the consequences to the care of God. It is a dangerous thing to charge ourselves openly before the world with the aim of reorganizing states and reconstructing society. How long could the missions live in the Turkish Empire or the native States of India that openly proclaimed their aim to be the political reformation of the lands to which they went? It is misleading also, as Dr. Behrends once declared, to confuse the ultimate issues with the immediate aims; and it is not only misleading, it is fatal. Some things can only be secured by those who do not seek them. Missions are powerful to transform the face of society, because they ignore the face of society, and deal with it at its heart. They yield such powerful political and social results, because they do not concern themselves with them.

It will help us also to remind ourselves that we must not confuse the aims of missions with the methods of missions. It is an easy thing to select a method with the view to the accomplishment of some given end, and then because the end is difficult of accomplishment, because the method is easy of operation, because its results, apart altogether from the main aim, are pleasant and useful in themselves, it is easy to exalt the method into the place of the end. Have not many of us seen this in philanthropic work on the mission field? It is a pleasant thing to feed the hungry, it is a Christian thing to heal the sick; and many times have we not with a view to attaining our direct missionary

aim, launched these philanthropic agencies, only to see them in due time absorb our aim itself, and demand our support for their own sakes, irrespective of the relation which they bear to the supreme aim? Have we not seen this happen in mission schools? We establish a school with a view to the realization of our aim; the aim becomes a difficult thing; the maintenance of the school is an easy thing. It is a good and civilizing thing in itself, and by and by we sacrifice for the lesser good, the greater aim. Our method rises up into the place of our end, and appropriates to its support for its own sake, that which the aim had a right to claim should be zealously and jealously devoted to it for the aim's sake alone. And yet once again, have we not seen the same thing happen in our preaching? We have adopted certain methods of preaching the gospel, with a view to the attainment of our aim; and long after those methods have been shown to be fruitless, long after they had been condemned by experience, we have kept them up through sheer force of their own momentum, for their own sake, irrespective of any direct and fruitful bearing they had upon the realization of our supreme aim. Let us once and for all distinguish in our minds between the aim of missions and the results and methods of missions.

Having cleared the ground so far, what is the aim of foreign missions. For one thing, it is a religious aim. We cannot state too strongly in an age when the thought of men is full of things, and the body has crept up on the throne of the soul, that our work is not immediately and in itself a philanthropic work, a political work, a secular work of any sort whatsoever. It is a spiritual and a religious work. Of course religion must express itself in life, but religion is spirit-

ual life. I had rather plant one seed of the life of Christ under the crust of heathen life, than cover that whole crust over with the veneer of our social habits, or the vestiture of Western civilization. We go into the world not primarily as trustees of a better social life. We go as the trustees of His life, Who said of Himself, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." "I came that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly." "The bread which I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Whatever defects may be found in President Seelye's lectures on *Christian Missions,* this merit they have and always will have; that they lay an emphasis which cannot be shaken, on the predominance of the religious and spiritual character of the aim of missions.

The aim of missions, to borrow Dr. Washburn's phrase, is to make Jesus Christ known to the world. You can adopt other phraseology if you please. You can say the aim of missions is the evangelization of the world. Or, you can say the aim of missions is to preach the gospel to the world. And if we understand these terms in their scriptural sense, they are synonymous with the phrase which I have just quoted. But many of us will persist in using them at less or more than their scriptural value. And to make perfectly clear what the aim of missions is, I paraphrase them in these other words: The aim of foreign missions is to make Jesus Christ known to the world.

And almost any method, almost any agency may be recognized as legitimate which subjects itself with uttter fidelity to this supreme aim. As Alexander Duff said years ago, in the first Missionary Conference in New York city, "The chief means of divine appointment for the evangelization of the world are the

faithful teaching and preaching of the pure gospel of salvation, by duly qualified ministers and other holy and consistent disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ, accompanied with prayer, and savingly applied by the grace of the Holy Spirit; such means, in the providential application of them by human agency, embracing not merely instruction by the living voice, but the translation and judicious circulation of the whole written Word of God, the preparation and circulation of evangelical tracts and books, as well as any other instrumentalities fitted to bring the Word of God home to men's souls, together with any processes which experience may have sanctioned as the most efficient in raising up everywhere indigenous ministers and teachers of the living gospel." I call that fair and broad. It sets out openly a range of mission effort that will throttle and restrict no useful missionary enterprise, and it exalts to a predominant and royal place the supreme end of making Jesus Christ known to His world.

I choose this language because it does not lift off our shoulders the burden of responsibility that we cannot escape, and it does not lay there a burden of responsibility that we cannot bear. We dare not say that we have done our duty when we have spoken Christ's name to the world; or that we have made Jesus Christ known to the world when we have given the world such a proclamation of Christ as would suffice for us who already know Him, to take in the full meaning of that message. Neither, on the other hand, dare any man tell us that we are to struggle hopeless under the burden of the world's conversion. We cannot convert one single soul; how shall we convert the world? Yet, midway between the position of no responsibility, and of all responsibility, we stand sharing something with God, sharing also something with our

brethren of the world. We cannot sever ourselves from that link of loving sympathy which binds us to their death; we cannot sever ourselves from that link of sympathy which binds us to His life. We are meant to be between His life and their death, channels of the grace and salvation of God.

The aim of missions is to make Jesus Christ known to the world with a view to the salvation of men, for that eternity which embraces alike the time that is to come, and the time that now is. We cannot narrow salvation to but one world, this one or the next. And yet even so I have not exhausted the statement of our real aim. It is not a purely individualistic gospel with which we are charged. Our duty lies certainly to our generation, but it does not stop there. We are bound to preach to every person in the world the gospel that Christ is his Saviour; we are bound also to make known to the world that there is a body of Christ, which is His Church, and to gather up these saved men into visible churches, which shall be outward evidence of the body of Christ, and shall secure to the gospel an influence and perpetuity which institutions and not individuals must supply. We owe it to Henry Venn, one of the strongest minds that has ever worked on this missionary problem, we owe it to Dr. Warneck, to Rufus Anderson, that this element in missionary policy and duty has been properly emphasized. It is our duty to make Jesus Christ known to the world for the salvation of individual men; and it is our duty also, to gather these men into the institutions of the Christian Church,—a Christian Church which in every land shall be that which the Christian Church as established by the apostles was in the early centuries, that which the Christian Church has become through missionary effort in the land from which we ourselves

come. We are to establish and foster native churches, self-extending, self-maintaining, self-directing, which shall carry out to their own people, whom we may not reach, the message that has come to them, and shall carry down into the generations that are to come after them, the blessings which we have given them as their own. This is the aim of foreign missions, to make Jesus Christ known to the world, with a view to the full salvation of men, and their gathering into true and living churches in the fields to which we go.

And this is our supreme aim. It is a just thing to challenge the world to sympathy with missions, because of the philanthropic and social results that missions achieve, and the heroic spirit which they display. But our supreme aim is neither to establish republics or limited monarchies throughout the world, nor to lead Chinese or Hindu people to wear our dress, nor to remodel their social institutions where these are already wholesome and clean. Our supreme aim is to make Jesus Christ known. I make room in my view of the world for other forces than ours. I believe that God is King, and that as surely as His hand is upon us to-day, and upon the work of missions, it is upon all the great forces that are making this world. We will not acknowledge that the force of political influence has escaped from His control, that He stands impotent before the commerce and civilization of the world? I believe that His hand is upon these things, that they play at last into His mighty purposes, that they are but part of His tremendous influence, that they and all the forces of life do but run resistlessly on to the great goals of God. But, I believe also that these things are but as chaff before the wind, are but as "the fading dews of the morning before the roaring floods," compared with the power that

we hold in our hands from His pierced hand, who died and rose again and who is King of them that reign as kings, and Lord of them that rule as lords. This is the supreme aim of Christian missions.

It is also its determining aim. And once again we must confess that we have lost sight, too often and too sadly, of the determining character of our mission aim. We have sometimes allowed ourselves to drift into methods of work that presuppose a quite contrary aim. When we lift off the shoulders of a new native church, for example, the burdens that it must bear, if it is ever to grow, we think we are dealing kindly, while we are taking its life and are false to our supreme aim. It is easy to slip into indirect conceptions of our duty, to do what God can do through other agencies. We are here to do our own work, and not other people's work, or the work of other agencies or other forces. Our methods of work, in their proportion, in their perpetuation, should be ruled as with an iron hand by the supreme and determining aim of our work.

And not alone the method of missions must be brought into utter subjection to their supreme and determining aim, but our spirit and the spirit of the enterprise must be ruled by that aim. We propose for ourselves no promiscuous and indefinite project; we have set before ourselves, sharp, distinct and clear, the aim and purpose that have been given us to pursue. We have our own clean piece of work to do, and with a spirit as clear as our work, fruitful in resource, persistent in purpose, indomitable in will, we are to go out, our spirit ruled as well as our plans by the aim and purpose of the work that has been committed to us by our Lord.

Those who in the Christian Churches at home are

responsible for this enterprise, are not summoning the Christian Church to any miscellaneous and undefined task. They are calling it to a project plain, clear, simple, practical, calling it to take up that project and press it to complete success, by all the appeals alike of the world's need, and of the world's God. The Church could do the work if she would, if this aim ruled her spirit. It was in 1836, I believe, that at its annual meeting in Hartford, the American Board voted, that, in view of the signs of the times and the promises of God, the day had arrived to undertake a scheme of operations looking toward the evangelization of the world, based upon the expectation of its speedy accomplishment. Sixty-six years have rolled by since then. The promises of God have not been abrogated. Each passing year has only given them fresh authentication, has only touched with new hope and glory, the signs of the times. We stand to-day before these same promises, vindicated by two generations more of trial, face to face with an open and appealing world. Has not the time now come at last, for action, for great action, for a serious attempt by the whole Church to attain our aim? Would that the voice of God might speak in the days of this generation, sounding such a rally to the Cross, and the last command of Jesus Christ, as by the blessing of God before we die, should fling the gospel light around the world.

VI

THE SCIENCE OF MISSIONS

OF the impressions with which any thoughtful traveller comes back from the mission fields three especially stand forth when he thinks upon the question of increasing the efficiency of the missionary enterprise.

The *first* is the unity of the world. Though "East is East and West is West," there is neither East nor West when the crust is broken through, inherited and reasoned moral judgments laid aside and bare soul laid upon bare soul. Diverse as the conditions, the types of mind, the habits of life, the prejudice and opinions of the different peoples, the whole missionary movement rests upon the assumption that the divergences are secondary and that in all essential needs and capacities the world is one. The souls of men everywhere love and hate, sin and sorrow, and rest not until they rest in God. One Saviour and He alone suffices for the whole world, and therefore we carry one gospel to all men. Of course there are distinct national peculiarities and each nation is prone to emphasize these. "Oh," say the Japanese and Hindus to the missionaries, "you do not understand us. You are so different." But the missionaries understand them very well, including their claim to singularity. It is one world. "God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth."

The *second* is the sameness of the mission problems in each land. If all peoples are essentially alike we should expect that in different fields the missionaries would be meeting essentially the same questions—how best to present the gospel so as to arouse least needless

resistance and how to take advantage of every favourable preconception and prejudice; how to develop workers who shall be a real indigenous power and not exotic mimics; how to develop real life and autonomy in the malleable native churches; how these churches should be related to the missions and the churches they represent; how to make the native churches themselves evangelizing forces, and not mere fields for the pastoral work of missions; how to develop that just spirit of self-respect and self-reliance which will insure self-support; the problem of education. These are but a few of the common problems arising in all fields. In whatever lands mission conferences are held, the programmes cover the same range of anxious inquiries and perplexities.

The *third* impression to which I have referred is the absence of any body of accepted principles governing missionary operations. Here and there a great missionary has worked out some problem and reached solid results, but in a score of other stations other missionaries, not knowing of his results or not willing to accept them, are working out the same problem for themselves. There is an immense amount of waste and loss in this. There is constant experimentation going on over questions already answered. A traveller among the missions is profoundly impressed by this. He finds that many missionaries are impressed by it also, and he comes back with the memory of many anxious inquiries as to when some body of common principles, the result of actual experience on the mission field, will be made available for new missions and missionaries and for those so unfavourably situated that they must rely upon others to supply them with such result.

All this suggests at once, obviously, the possibility

and the need of a science of missions. A certain amount of experimentation was necessary. A science of missions could not be deductively reasoned out. But now, after one hundred years of actual experience, of mistake and blunder and success, the time would seem to have come for some sincere attempt to embody the approved results of the best missionary work in such statements as shall clear the ground of much present discussion and save much needless duplication of past painful experiences.

Is there a science of missions? Some say there is not and cannot be. They scorn any theory of missions. They allege that the conditions met in the mission work are so diverse in different fields, and so fluctuating in the same field that no body of common and settled principles can be found. This work, they hold, is a living work, full of the mobility and adaptiveness incident to life, and carried on among distinct peoples whose modes of opinion, points of view, prejudices, and judgments vary sometimes almost antipodally. No hard, established outlines of policy and method are possible. Moreover, they add, the manifest absence of anything like a missionary science in the past and the present disagreement among missionaries make it obvious that we must proceed with the work of missions along the lines of pure empiricism.

This view seems to be losing what popularity it ever had. The fact that a century of modern missions has passed, the conviction that the experiments of this century should have produced principles of guidance for the future that would save us from the errors of the past, the obvious waste and pain due to the retrial of methods disapproved by unfavourable result already, the growing agreement among missionaries as to cer-

tain great principles, the necessity of a wiser and more far-reaching use, if such be possible, of the scanty funds available for the world's evangelization, the instinct of progress that revolts against incessant and duplicative experimentalism—these are some of the grounds for the growing belief that an effort should be made to reach and formulate and thenceforth rigorously to apply the main principles of the missionary enterprise.

Of course, the difficulties are that the missionary force is constantly shifting, that the experienced men are overwhelmed with work, and lost in their own round of duties without opportunity for broader study of the principles developed in their experience, and that new missions are constantly springing up without heredity or tradition, to repeat the blunders of the old. But these difficulties have been sufficiently recognized to be in part overcome. A scientific missionary literature is growing up. Missionary councils are discussing missionary experience with the specific purpose of learning therefrom the right principles of missionary work.

From the reports of these councils, for example the China conferences at Shanghai in 1877 and 1890, the India conferences in Calcutta in '82-'83, and Bombay in '92-'93, the Japan conferences at Osaka in 1881 and at Tokyo in 1900, the London conference in 1888, and such other conferences as those at Liverpool in 1860, Lahore in '62-'63, Mildmay in 1878, and the meetings of the China Educational Association in 1893, 1896 and 1899, and the annual meetings of the members and officers of the mission boards of America in New York each winter since 1893 and the Ecumenical Conference of 1900; from articles and letters and books, by missionaries, and reports of visits to the mission fields by

students of missions, like Lawrence's *Modern Missions in the East,* and by representatives of the mission boards—it is becoming possible to gather such a consensus of opinion on the methods and principles of the mission work, as to supply the outlines at least of a science of missions.

It may be objected.

1. That this is the kind of question it is not profitable to raise; that we have a generally accepted body of missionary principles already, and that it is better to let it grow on naturally rather than to waste time and divert attention from practical work by discussing it. I sympathize a good deal with this view. It would be unfortunate to turn mission attention away from the hard, solemn business of the flesh and blood work we have in hand. All I urge is that if we have these principles now actually worked out, we should attempt now to put them in such shape that they will be of service to new missionaries and to others, as the dominating principles to govern all the new work established, that they and it may be saved the long years of toil and trial which the acquisition of these principles has cost.

2. It may be objected by others that missions are a practical work and that we do not want theory. But theory is not speculation. We do not want that, but surely we do want those true statements of method and principle on which we are striving to act, or acknowledge that we desire to act; and by just as much as we deem of importance the activities under which these principles lie, must we regard as desirable the proper formulation of the principles themselves.

3. There are others who say " We do not believe in this pothering with principles. There is no science of Christian activities at home in America. We can't be

wiser on the mission field than we have been here. We have all sorts of methods and organizations here involving all kinds of inconsistencies and contradictions. We must just be sane enough to work in the same broad ways abroad." Many of us would be prepared to take issue with those who make this objection. We ought to be wiser on the mission field than here. The costly blunders and controversies and competitions of the work at home ought not to be repeated abroad. Here, moreover, a homogeneous and advanced people can stand many mistakes, and resources are enormous. There we are dealing with elementary and primitive peoples and our resources are scanty, and the work is so vast as to render the duplication of home machineries and mistakes and wastes a proceeding beyond pardon.

4. The despondent objection is made by some that no common body of mission principles can be agreed upon. There are doubtless some points on which as yet many could not agree. But on the main principles of missions, or on most of them, at least, missionaries are agreed. I observed upon the mission field that while some missionaries were more ready than others to waive missionary principles in the face of circumstances where it required tact and will and judgment to apply them, and where the path of least resistance was that of surrender of principle, yet almost all missionaries were agreed upon the broad outlines of a policy of missions. The differences of opinion arose over the question, What exceptions are allowable?

To any but those who are satisfied with such objections as these the wonder is that the formation of a body of wise missionary principles has been delayed so long. It would be easy to produce here letters from missionaries all over the world expressive of their de-

sire for such a statement. They do not feel that they are in a position to supply it. Their experiences are confined to certain departments of the work, and even in those departments they are familiar, as a rule, with but a single field, and it is difficult for them to distinguish the elements which are provincial from those that are universal.

Such an outline as is needed should include the aim of missions, the means, the methods or agencies, the agents, and such principles of other aspects of the work, as may now be possible of enunciation. The most satisfactory attempt of which I know at such a statement as this, is contained in the manuals defining the policy of the missions of the Church Missionary Society. An earlier attempt, wonderfully clear and exhaustive, but almost lost sight of for many years, was made by the prudential Committee of the American Board in 1855, after the return of the delegation sent to the missions of the Board in Asia, and was reported by the Committee to the Board at the meeting at Albany, at which the reports of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Thomson, who constituted the delegation, were considered.

First of all, the AIM OF MISSIONS. It is to be regretted that this, which is necessarily first, will suggest divergence of opinion. What is the aim of missions? Everything else will depend on this. First, it is to preach the gospel. We are all agreed here. But it is preaching not merely as superficial announcers, but with a view to the salvation of souls, the establishment of the Church, and the evangelization of the world. So far we are all agreed. But what is meant by the establishment of the Church? The usual reply is "a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating native church." And here, obviously, there is differ-

ence of practice and opinion; for while some are working toward the erection of independent national Churches in the different countries, others are building up Churches organically related to the American Churches and designed to remain so attached, and to be self-governing only in some such sense as shall not destroy their attachment. If you will seriously reflect upon it you will see how vitally this difference of policy affects mission method. When the aim of a mission is to build up an independent national Church one set of principles will control the missionaries in their relation thereto, and when the aim is to build up a Church which shall be an organic part of the Church to which the missionaries belong, quite a different set of principles will control.

Secondly, the aim of missions having been defined, our science of missions should deal with the MEANS.

In the definition of the aim just given, the institution of the Church is recognized, but this is purely instrumental. The ideal of the Church to be kept in view is that of a spiritual fellowship, rather than that of a formalized institution. The aim of missions is a spiritual aim. The means must be spiritual means. The use of money, of social incentives, of political influence, of philanthropic effort may be allowed. The first is in a measure necessary, but all have their limits, and in the case of some the limits are close and confining. In a right science of missions the truth suggested here will be emphasized remorselessly. There are missions and missionaries who tie their work and its prosperity inseparably to large supplies of missionary money. When they can spend money without stint, they speak jubilantly. They have many "arms," as they call them, by which they mean native agents under their direction, hired by them. When their

funds are curtailed, then their work is ruined, their "arms" are gone. "Hands" they should be called. It is inexpressibly sad to have the mission work reduced to this commercial basis, and to have all growth and enlargement conditioned on increased appropriations. This makes Christianity's appeal inferior to that of Buddhism or Mohammedanism. There is a right use of money to which reference will be made, but there is a wrong use that is easier and, perhaps, more frequent. It follows that the richest missions are not necessarily the best, nor are the poorest. Those are best which recognize most clearly that this work is a spiritual work, and which subordinate all mechanical or material means, while they trust wholly to the Spirit of Life and of God. And they must do this not in station or mission prayer meeting only, or in pious correspondence, but practically and vitally in their work and methods.

Thirdly, THE METHODS or agencies. There are four great methods or departments of the mission work—the evangelistic, the educational, the medical and the literary. Some might add woman's work, but that is included in all of the four named, and ought not to be isolated by itself.

1. Some would deny to any one department the exclusive use of the title *evangelistic,* and their contention that all mission work should be evangelistic is just, but the word may be allowed to stand to describe that department of the work which relies on no indirect method, but is concerned with the direct and simple oral presentation of the gospel. This is the supreme method. The best missions are those which use it most, and a science of missions should set it in the foreground. The best ways of stating Christian truth and commending it to the minds and

hearts of the people—the teaching of the gospel to the congregations of inquirers, the inspiration and supervision of native evangelists, the vivification of the native churches, the organization and indomitable prosecution of itineration—these are but a few of the questions to be dealt with in the direct evangelistic work.

Evangelistic work is simply the preaching or teaching of the gospel. The etymology of the word indicates that it means the real explanation of the message of salvation. Such work may be done in churches, or chapels, or school-rooms, from house to house, in the street, on boats or trains, with crowds, families, or individuals. This is the supreme method. Christian words without the Christian life and the fruits thereof will not suffice. But neither will uprightness and benevolence, dumb of any clear oral presentation of Christ. Going into all the world, the early disciples were to preach the gospel. We are to do the same. The missionary who cannot teach Christ and His gospel, and who does not make this his supreme and constant business is an anomaly. Because the vast majority of those to be reached by the gospel are not within easy distance of missionary homes, the missionaries go out after them and this itinerating work becomes the leading form of evangelistic effort. This work is hard. It demands absence from home, involves rough conditions, is very trying and exacting. But it is the most important agency of all, and should be carried on comprehensively, systematically, persistently.

2. The problem of *educational work* has often been discussed. Such discussion will be greatly clarified and we shall draw nearer to common conclusions, if we recognize that there are three grades

of mission schools which are not to be dealt with in the same way: (1) primary, (2) secondary or academic schools, and (3) professional, theological, pedagogic, medical, or industrial.

(1) Primary schools are either (*a*) evangelistic, designed to secure opportunity for evangelistic work in the homes of the children and to teach Christianity to the children in the school, or (*b*) parochial, to teach the children of Christians. Both of these features are combined in many primary schools.

The following principles may be suggested as to this grade of educational work. (*A*) Such schools require constant and thorough evangelistic supervision. No more schools should be established by a mission than can be thoroughly looked after and followed up. (*B*) Only Christian teachers should be employed. Rarely, exceptional circumstances may arise justifying the employment of a non-Christian, but there must be the strongest reason therefor, and such a school should be under incessant supervision. When associated with a native congregation, primary schools should have the advantage of the closest supervision of the native pastor, who may often wisely be made responsible for catechetical instruction. (*C*) Such schools must be unqualifiedly Christian, and especially in the former the dominant purpose of the school is to convert to Christianity and strengthen in adherence thereto. (*D*) In evangelistic primary schools it is wasteful not to utilize all the evangelistic opportunities offered by the opened homes of the pupils. A missionary in charge of such work must resist the temptation to open so many schools as to make this supervision and utilization impossible. (*E*) The primary day schools of each mission should as far as possible, have a uniform curriculum, serving as preparatory

to the schools of higher grade, and obviating the necessity of having primary departments in the higher schools. This should be the case particularly in the parochial schools. In the purely evangelistic schools it may often be desirable to use the full time and strength of the teacher, in direct evangelistic teaching. (*F*) It is most desirable to encourage each Christian community to provide schools for its children, itself supplying therefor requisite buildings, furniture, and books, and in whole or in part the salary of the teacher, and the payment of the expenses by the people themselves should be kept in view as the ideal. (*G*) And with general reference to the support of such schools, though it may often be necessary to await a developed interest, it may be held that the support of parochial schools cannot be conceived as one of the permanent responsibilities of a mission board. The establishment of Christian schools is necessary and wise, and the encouragement and assistance of such schools to a limited extent, is a proper field for the use of mission funds where such use "contributes to a wider and more effective proclamation of the gospel, and gives promise of vital missionary results;" and does not diminish or discourage at all the widest and most direct evangelistic work. But missionary societies are not prepared to commit themselves to the policy of assuming full responsibility for the establishment and maintenance of so-called "parochial schools" generally. These should grow out of the needs of the native Churches, and be supported in whole or in part, by the native Christians themselves. Regarding schools for the children of non-Christians, it is clear that only as such schools are a direct evangelistic agency can they be regarded as proper objects of support or assistance from mission funds.

(2) Secondary or academic schools.

(*A*) The *aim* of such schools is to develop Christian character and fit pupils for positions of influence and usefulness among their own people and in the native Church, not of course as professional preachers or teachers only:—in a word, to raise up Christian leaders both men and women.

(*B*). Three *principles* must govern all educational institutions of this character under the care of mission boards. (*a*) They must be thorough in their work. These schools may vary greatly in grade and range of instruction, but whatever is taught should be taught thoroughly, both for its effect on character, and because thoroughness is itself education. (*b*) They must provide education adapted to the requirements and characteristics of the pupils taught, and to the conditions of life and work for which the pupils are to be fitted. (*c*) They must be unqualifiedly Christian, bringing and keeping all their pupils under powerful and personal religious influence.

(*C*) This aim and these principles suggest a few of the *limitations* of this grade of educational work in missions. (*a*) No more students should be received than can be trained thoroughly and influenced to the maximum. It is wisest to begin such institutions with few pupils and increase only gradually. (*b*) The number of Christian pupils should be sufficient to give tone and character to the school. A predominant heathen influence is fatal to the best results. (*c*) The number of pupils should not be so large as to preclude the maximum of personal contact with the pupils. It is disastrous to enlarge a school beyond the point where this can be secured. Each boy or girl should be studied personally, and his or her training should be shaped according to his or her needs. In this

way the waste of training for positions in life those who are wholly unqualified for such positions will be measurably avoided. (*d*) Education should not be given beyond the needs of the pupils or the people whose leaders they are to become. Languages and studies must not be introduced which lift them out of sympathy with their people. It is essential to leadership that the gap between the leader and the led should not be too wide. (*e*) Especially will this principle of adaptation require in schools such frugality and simplicity of life and such training in self-reliance and humility and honour as will prevent the development of pride and those allied feelings which are fatal to the highest leadership. (*f*) A broad view of the operations of human nature and a recognition of the vast chasm between the modern education of the West which is presented in mission schools, and the intellectual disposition and characteristics of the non-Christian peoples would suggest also that this secondary or academic education, in the higher forms at least, should not be given too lavishly, nor carried in its development beyond the point where its product can be absorbed and utilized by the people. There is a limit to the number of leaders needed, and more may not wisely be trained than the necessities of existing Christian communities require, or than could be used as leaders of new communities or societies.

(*D*) There are fields where this secondary education is used as an evangelistic agency and there can be no objection to this where such use does not militate against a just regard for the aim, principles, and limitations laid down. But there are cases also where its use involves a disregard of these limitations, because there is not a sufficient Christian community on which to rest a school with a predominant element of Chris-

tian students. Some Moslem lands present this condition. In such cases, it can only be insisted that though some of the limitations specified must be waived, there must be the greater care, if such be possible, to observe the three principles which should control such institutions. And the general rule must be, that schools of this grade should follow and not precede the establishment of Christian communities; or, that in the absence of such communities, the enlargement of the schools beyond the exceedingly small number whom it may be hoped to win to Christianity, under the dominant spiritual influence and purpose of the missionary, should perhaps wait upon the successful results of the exercise of this influence.

(*E*) As to the financial support of this grade of education, it may be maintained that the mission work has now reached a stage when the offer of the advantages of such education should not involve the exemption of the parents or guardians of the pupils from the expense to which they would be put for their maintenance at home. Clothes, food, travelling expenses, and all incidentals, including books, should be provided for the pupils by their own people as soon as possible. And, as soon as possible, the people themselves should provide some annual payment toward the general cost of the education given. As the ability of the people to pay and their appreciation of the value of the education increase, larger portions of the cost of its support may be laid upon them.

(3) Such educational preparation as is given to native Christians or others, and not included in the above classification, may be summarized as theological or Biblical, pedagogic, medical, industrial, or linguistic. Often these grades of educational work are combined with academic or secondary education, in which

case, they are to be governed by its aim, principles, and limitations. When given in separate courses it may be either as supplementary to, and consequent upon, the completion of an academic course, or independent thereof. (*a*) Two grades of theological instruction may well be provided. Men of great power and usefulness will often be raised up outside of the long course of regular educational preparation, and general Bible training courses may wisely be provided for such. Bible classes or schools for the training of Bible women may also be established. Only, in such institutions as these, the principles and aims and limits already detailed, are comparatively easy of application. (*b*) Training classes may be conducted for one or two months of the year for Bible teachers, leaders of congregations, primary school teachers, etc. Such classes in the nature of institutes or training conferences are of great utility, the people providing their own travelling expenses, and often their own entertainment, or receiving this from some Christian community acting as host, and the predominant purpose of such gatherings being spiritual and practical. (*c*) Classes for the teaching of some foreign language undertaken for evangelistic purposes, may be profitable where the purposes for which they are undertaken are conscientiously sought and measurably but distinctly secured. (*d*) Medical schools; while popular with many who seek them without Christian purpose or sympathy, should yet have as their aim as truly as any other educational work, the raising up of Christian leaders. The preparation of good doctors is not sufficient to justify such schools, though, as a merely temporary expedient to gain friends in a Moslem land, it may be held by some to do so. Such schools should, as a rule, be as thorough and Christian as any schools,

and experience has shown that they may be expected to be self-supporting. (*e*) No policy is enunciated as to distinct industrial schools or departments. The experience of many boards, however, has not been happy with such schools, and pleas for their increase should be considered cautiously. They are sure to increase, however. The industrial element, it would seem, must be a desirable and even necessary element in most schools, for the purpose, if not of facilitating self-support (which may be impracticable in many cases), at least of encouraging self-reliance and teaching the honourable dignity of self-help and toil.

(4) Other forms of educational work should be recognized which are salutary and helpful, and which it is competent for a missionary agency to carry on with funds *given for such forms of work.* But there is danger lest the influence of these should distort the right balance of activities in a mission, and the principles already set forth should govern educational work supported by funds *given for the purpose of evangelization.*

What modifications, if any, should be made temporarily in these principles, under the conditions prevailing in Moslem lands, for example, would be a question to be considered by itself.

3. *Medical missions* may be grouped as forms of philanthropic effort. In all use of philanthropic effort, such as medical missions, relief work, etc., as a method of mission work, the dominant and determining aim must be evangelistic. Such work is useful as securing friendship, removing prejudice, representing the helpful, unselfish spirit of Christianity, contributing to the preaching of Christ, and the revelation of Him as Saviour and Lord, the source of all life and hope, and as reliev-

ing suffering; but it is not the responsibility of the foreign missionary enterprise to care for the sickness and suffering of the world. Times of critical need may occur, as in great famines and pestilence, when a broad liberty of action must be recognized; but in general, the aim of our philanthropic work should be to contribute directly to the preaching of the gospel, the establishment of the Christian Church, and to the fostering of that Christian spirit which will provide through the native Church which is growing up and through the people themselves, the salutary fruits of Christianity in philanthropy and humanitarian effort. As a missionary method, philanthropic work should ordinarily be limited, therefore, by the possibility of its evangelistic utilization and influence. A small development of such work contributing powerfully in the direction indicated is better than a large development of but feeble or indirect evangelistic influence.

4. Regarding *literary work,* the fourth class of methods, these principles would seem to be obvious. Only those men should be set aside by the mission for literary work who are qualified for it. So long as more important work is waiting to be done, it should be done. Time should not be taken from it for less necessary literary work. Too much of such work can be done, or it can be done prematurely. The Bible and truly required books should be supplied as soon as possible. But such principles are elementary.

Having dealt with the aim, the means and the methods of the missionary work, a statement of mission policy would deal next with the AGENTS. There is not very clear agreement as to the native agents engaged in the work. Perhaps the difficulties and confusion here have arisen from the failure to dis-

tinguish between two classes of agents and their distinct functions and responsibilities. (1) The agents of the missions, evangelists, assistants, etc. and (2) the agents of the native church, pastors, teachers, etc. To those whose aim is to build up an independent native church this distinction is vital. To those whose aim it is to build up a church organically related and subordinate to the church from which the missionaries come, it may seem of slight account. From the point of view of the former it will be of the greatest importance to keep ever clear the principle that the responsibility of supporting the institutions of the native church rests upon the church, and that for the agents of the church the church is sponsor and stay.

The main agents of the mission work are the foreign missionaries. Apart from proper intellectual and physical qualifications, the essential thing is that they should be men and women having life to give. If they have no life to give they will be mere paymasters of native "hands" or "arms," or doctors, or school teachers. They should know the meaning and have experienced the power of Christ's words, "He that believeth on Me, out of the depths of his life shall pour torrents of living water." These missionaries should have such support as to be freed from anxiety, from the necessity of supplying appeals to sympathy or pity, from dependence upon others, and as to be able to preserve health and efficiency. They should be organized into mission councils having supervision of the work, and authority to a just extent over the workers. Such councils should act as units toward native churches. It is most imprudent and unjust for dissentients from mission plans to side with native churches in disagreement.

SUPPLEMENTARY PRINCIPLES. The general sug-

gestions already made should be supplemented at many points in an attempt to outline a science of missions.

1. In the *establishment of a church* the question at once arises as to the standard of admission and of discipline. Shall our ground be high or low? I should answer in some such way as this:

Recognizing that Christian character is a growth, and that the facts of Scripture and of life, teach that patience and education are necessary to the development of high moral standards and the realization of these standards in conduct, it is believed that it is unprofitable to expect the fruits of eighteen centuries of Christian culture to be reproduced in a generation on the mission field, and unjust to demand them as conditions of admission to the church. At the same time, the vital importance of establishing from the outset, right ideals in the native churches must be recognized, and the weight of judgment should be given in support of those missionaries who contend for a relatively high standard of admission and discipline as essential to the strength and purity of the native church. It is not regarded as permissible, for example, that polygamists should be admitted to the Lord's Supper. Thorough instruction of inquirers and the inculcation of high moral obligations, should be provided for. On the other hand, there should be regard to the antecedents and environment of the people, and emphasis should be laid not so much upon extended knowledge or even conformity to set requirements, as upon earnestness, genuine faith, and that sincere acceptance of Christ which will issue in true living.

2. The question of the form of *ecclesiastical or-*

ganization at once arises and of the relation of the new church to the American churches. The Methodists, like the Roman Catholics, are establishing their own church everywhere. The Methodist churches in China, India, and Japan are not national churches, but are organically connected with and subject to the American Methodist Church. The Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist churches pursue a different plan, and the larger Church of England Society (the C. M. S.), looks forward also to the independence of all the new churches. As to the first question of the form of ecclesiastical organization, this seems to me to approach a true answer: and as to the second question of the relation of the native church to the missionaries and their home church, this seems to me a wise statement:

Ecclesiastical organization should not be developed prematurely or in excess of the real needs of the native church, or the capacity and demands of its spiritual life. And in no case should cumbersome and hampering institutions be established. It is inexpedient to give formal organization to churches and ecclesiastical councils after American models, unless there is manifest need therefor, and such forms are shown to be best adapted to the people and the circumstances. In general, the ends of the work will best be attained by simple and flexible organization adapted to the characteristics and real needs of the people, and designed to develop and utilize spiritual power rather than merely or primarily to secure proper ecclesiastical procedure.

The aim of the foreign mission movement is to carry the gospel to the unevangelized people, and to build up living native churches among them. To this end it is expedient that true conceptions of the duties of

the native church should prevail from the outset, that its development may be natural and healthy. It is desirable also, that as the native church grows, its relations to the missions working in its behalf may be such as to facilitate the advance of the missions into regions beyond, and as to secure for the native church the utmost help and counsel from the missions, while not prejudicing at all the growth of the church in self-support, self-extension, and self-government. Experience has proved that it is most unwise to confuse the functions and responsibilities of the missions and the native churches. Preëminent among the rights and privileges of the native church are the duties of self-support, self-extension, self-government. The native churches must be summoned from the beginning to the right discharge of these responsibilities, which the missions should guard against invasion. To this end, the missionaries should consider with greatest care their relations to the native churches.

Experience suggests the following principles:

(1) The native churches should be taught from the outset to discharge their proper responsibilities, and the missions should guard against assuming these responsibilities for them.

(2) Missionaries should not become members of the ecclesiastical councils of the native church save as corresponding members, or in advisory capacities.

(3) The primary character of the missionary as a spiritual agent should be kept always predominant. Personal holiness and spiritual authority, not financial resources or administrative or ecclesiastical authority, should constitute his power and influence.

(4) The foundations of the native church should be laid not upon ideas of mechanical authority and

ecclesiastical organization, but upon conceptions of spiritual and personal service and responsibility.

(5) With clear lines of demarcation between the functions of the native church and the mission established and recognized, there will be much freedom from perplexity and misunderstanding otherwise unavoidable, and as little as possible to mar that display of confidence and love toward the native church which is essential to kindly and efficient cooperation.

3. As to *self-support* and the use of money in mission work these seem to me to be a few of the principles to be observed:

(1) Each body of converts is responsible for the expenses of its own religious instruction and worship and pastoral care. The converts supported their old religion. They cannot expect that mission funds given in the main by the poor, or those of moderate means, and for the evangelization of the heathen, can to any great extent or for any length of time, be drawn upon for the expenses of their religious life. Missionary supervision they should have freely. What they receive beyond is of grace not of debt.

(2) "Self-support as regards church expenses among native Christians should be anticipated and prepared for at the very earliest stage."

(3) Christianity is a living and divine religion, and the spiritual force that is in it is sufficient to make it take root and spread wherever it is propagated as a religion of life and divine power. As the Rev. S. A. Moffett wrote on returning from a furlough to his work in Pyeng Yang, in Northern Korea:

"I am rejoiced to be at work again, and am very deeply impressed with the genuineness of the work

here. I cannot but feel that it is due to the fact that from the very beginning nothing but the plain simple truths of the gospel have been urged upon these people, and that these truths have been allowed to work out their own effect. Oh! how I wish it might be emphasized and reemphasized the world over, that the gospel alone is the power of God unto salvation, and that the gospel alone can do and does for these people all that it has done and does for us. The introduction of other appeals based upon financial, educational, or other advantages, which draw the attention from the central truth of salvation from sin, weaken the appeal, and in so far as they enter into the lives of the people, deprive them of spiritual power and strong faith."

(4) Men should not be paid by missions for doing what they ought to do as disciples freely.

(5) Native salaries should be paid on the same basis as missionary salaries. The missionaries work not for what they can extort or what they are worth in a market of supply and demand. Native workers should be provided for in the same way. Missions are blundering sadly, which encourage the mercenary spirit.

(6) Native workers ought always to be employed only after careful consideration, and for work which it would be obviously wrong to expect any one to do freely. More evil is done by employing wrong men or men for wrong work than by failing to employ right ones or for right work.

(7) "As little paid work as necessary, as much work of love and gift as possible," is a good rule. The best missions endeavour to have as few paid helpers as possible, and as many as necessary, not as many as possible.

4. I believe in one Church of Christ in each mission field. I believe all denominations should unite in establishing one Church. Where this is not practicable because of the unwillingness of any, there should be comity:

(1) In the scale of salaries for native workers in the employ of different missions. (2) In the recognition by each mission of the acts of discipline in the sphere of another mission. (3) In the support of schools, especially higher schools. (4) In printing establishments; one should be enough for any mission station. (5) In hospitals; one should be enough for most mission stations, or two, one for men and one for women. (6) In divisions of territory that will give separate fields to different churches. (7) In the fellowship and spiritual union of native Christians if missions are not willing to let them unite organically.

It may be at once admitted that in the attempt at last to settle upon and to give expression to the principles of a sound mission policy there is no need of precipitancy. The deliberation with which these principles have been developed would indicate that we are in little danger of undue haste. But the time has come when we should attempt to frame the science of missions. We have been doing this piece by piece, from year to year. We should complete this work so far as we are able. And the voice of the confusionist, of the missionary antinomian, of the experimentalist, ought not to deter us. Many among the missionaries are waiting for a satisfactory statement of a full mission policy, and all who have anything to do with the appointment of new missionaries know how confused they stand before this vast problem when told that no guide to its solution can be placed in their hands.

The difficulties and importance of this duty should

not be either under or overestimated. There is no other work in the world so complicated, so huge in its purposes and field. And all attempts to formulate the principles of it are of little value in comparison with the prosecution of the work itself. Moreover, wherever there is spiritual life and power there will be blessing, even in the face of mistakes of policy. But if the principles of a sound science of missions can be drawn out there will be great saving of time and strength and money, and the spiritual force which has ever marked pre-eminently the foreign missionary enterprise will have freer course and will accomplish even greater results. It would be unfortunate if the missionary work hardened into cold, formalized rules, but the spirit of life follows divine principles. The science of missions should be the formulation of these principles.

VII

THE KIND OF MEN NEEDED IN FOREIGN MISSIONS

TWO wrong replies are constantly given to the question: "What kind of men are needed in the foreign mission field?" One is that any kind of man will do, and that good men should not "throw their lives away on the heathen." I have heard of theological professors even urging upon men of special power the superior need for them at home. The other is that none but intellectual giants can cope with the subtle philosophies and the keen minds of the East.

The right answer is that men are wanted who have the qualities of spiritual leadership. Among these qualities are good sense, open and comprehensive judgment, some measure of personal power, that tenderness of sympathy which may be called by many names, and a deep and true and prayerful life. Good sense is needed to show a man the course of action needed to secure an end, and the moment to strike; but so many new elements enter into the determination of such questions in a strange, new land, that men are needed who can see conditions and understand them, penetrate through situations, unravelling their tangles, and lay out constructive lines of procedure.

Men are wanted who have something within which of necessity leaps out to influence others. Feeble men who never led or influenced any one at home are probably destitute of the power of personality which would enable them to influence or lead men abroad. Men between whose judgment and will there are no relations, are probably unfit. The needed man is he of

the positive opinion, deliberately formed, steadily and unwaveringly pursued and expressed in consecutive action. At the same time a man may be all this, and yet cold and unattractive. There is a tenderness of heart which is sister to a humble spirit like Christ's, and which yet is a very empress over men and makes its possessor a leader, while it robs leadership of its perils. But all these perils disappear and personal power is magnified indefinitely by a life of single devotion and deep prayerfulness.

The best that the Church has at home is not too good for the foreign mission field. There is room there for all human talents. The opportunity for general human service in science, philanthropy, political study, and all the branches of human interest and helpfulness, the need of men who can furnish the most powerful sympathetic ties between East and West, at a time when diplomacy and commerce are irritating and alienating, the establishment, organization and direction of great national churches, which are to surpass in membership all the present churches of the West, the intricacy and incalculable importance of the problems thus arising, the very existence of Christianity on its present foundations, challenged as to its exclusive claims by the ethnic religions—these are but a few of the reasons for the demand on the part of the mission field for the best the Church has.

On the other hand, it needs ever to be remembered that human history is not the product of the schools and the scholars, but of the lowly, the common man as well—of the man who knows the heart of man and can speak to it. And we easily exaggerate in our thoughts the superb reasoning qualities and the keen metaphysical power of the heathen. The average American is far more intelligent, better informed,

keener in argument than the average Asiatic. Moreover, any Westerner is supported in Asia or Africa by the prestige of the West; though not a specially able man, he is treated as in some sense the representative of the West. The very position, moreover, with its responsibilities and new problems, and his representative capacity, act on him as military discipline on a soldier, and make of him a sharper and more reliant man.

Furthermore, we easily err in imagining that this world runs by reasoned argument and persuasion. It is not so with us. It is less so in the East, where custom rules life. As Pascal has said: "We must not mistake ourselves, we have as much that is automatic in us as intellectual, and hence it comes that the instrument by which persuasion is brought about is not demonstration alone. How few things are demonstrated! Proofs can only convince the mind; custom makes our strongest proofs and those which we hold most firmly. It sways the automaton, which draws the unconscious intellect after it. Who has demonstrated that there will be a to-morrow, or that we shall die; yet what is more universally believed? It is then custom that convinces us of it, custom that makes so many men Christians, custom that makes them Turks, heathen, artisans, soldiers." And the man who knows himself and for himself, and whose mind is clear, his heart kind, and his will strong, and who loves Christ and is willing to go, will find a place awaiting him abroad—a place, too, greater than any he is at all likely to find at home.

A happy spirit and pluck, rather enjoying hardship, are two good qualities in a missionary. Coleridge Patteson wanted for his work "bright, cheerful, happy fellows." There is much to discourage. The air is

full of despondency and hopelessness, the results of heathenism. And there are undoubted hardships—the necessity of absence from home, discomforts in itinerating work, constant contact with the putrid life of non-Christian lands. Men who are blue of disposition, and who instinctively run rather than fight, will have an uncomfortable time.

The conditions under which the foreign missionary does his work have a great influence on character. He is alone, among people of standing inferior to his. It is true that in some countries there are many who affect to despise him; Mohammedan mollahs, Confucian scholars, Hindu priests, Japanese of different sorts—but most of these have at bottom a real respect for him. Even where he disavows and denies it, he is still regarded as a representative of the powerful and pitiless Western nations which are back of him with mailed hands.

Yet, though respected, and by the common people and the poor often unduly exalted, he is isolated. He has come with something to give. So coming, he asserts his superiority. Yet no influence about him contributes to feeding the springs from which his superiority flows. There are no better men around him. Professor Drummond called this the saddest feature of a missionary's life. There is much to encourage dictatorialness, dogmatic assertiveness, slothfulness, spiritual indolence, mere formality of service, weakening of moral fibre and tone, degeneration of standard and ideal for self and others, a general professionalism of work touched with kindness and forced conscientiousness and a little despondency. Missionaries testify to the reality of these perils. The men and women who go to the mission field must be able to stand against them. The ability to stand cannot

be acquired by mere geographical transplanting. Whoever would resist all such temptations must have the qualifications therefor in this country before ever setting forth on his mission.

And on the positive side the missionary should be able to make a definite spiritual impression on the lives of men, many of whom have been devoid of all save the most elementary spiritual notions and to whom all our spiritual world with its ideas is unintelligible. Perhaps even words are lacking in which to express our notions. Or old systems of belief are to be confronted, whose standards run fair athwart the teachings of the gospel, and have in some cases so woven themselves into the social and civil life of the people that Christianity is literally a revolutionary assault upon the very foundations of their institutions. Problems of intricate perplexity need to be solved. Hardships, the more difficult because they are not romantic and bear no kinship to martyrdom, must be endured. Hard, trying work must be done. Little by little, spiritual impression must be made; surrounded all the time by the grossest materialism and superstition, the spiritual ideals must yet never be clouded or lost for an instant. The people of the world are ready to have their bodies cared for, and to be put in the way of greater material prosperity. They do not wish for spiritual revolution or the holiness of Christ. The temptation to spend life in giving them what they are willing to receive, and to constrict or to neglect the effort to give them what they need, what Christ came that they might receive, the Revelation of the Father, the Way, the Life abundant, the Heavenly Calling, what our mission exists for, must be sternly throttled.

That men may be able to resist these temptations,

and do the vital spiritual work, which is our supreme business, they must have qualifications of character and capacity, assured and vindicated here before they go. And among these qualifications should be set first, the need of a deep and holy life. There are two words of Christ which must be familiar to every missionary and which should have been received and absorbed into life by the missionary candidate. One He spoke first to the woman of Sychar: "Whosoever shall drink of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst, but the water that I shall give him shall become in him a well of water springing up unto eternal life." The other He cried as He stood in Jerusalem on the last, the great day of the Feast of Tabernacles: "If any man thirst let him come unto Me and drink. He that believeth on Me as the Scripture hath said, out of the depths of his life shall flow rivers of living water." The new missionary joins some little company of men and women who are already under the fullest strain. He dare not draw on them for spiritual life. There is none in the surrounding hopeless, lifeless people. If he has no springs within him where the Living Water is flowing, woe to him! Can he give to others if his own supply is scant? And the missionary's life must be a holy life, a life of holy gentleness, holy purity, holy love. It is to be subject to fearful strain. It will have to give to others at times when in heat, discomfort, fever, dirt, it is needing most to receive, when endurance is tested to the uttermost. It will break under this trial if not profoundly held by the power of Him before whom the seraphim called to one another through the smoke of the temple while the pillars rocked to and fro, "Holy, Holy, Holy." I know of a missionary whom the natives called "Mr. Angry Face," because at times

he so lost control of himself, as to blaze on them with wrath. It may not be so with the man who would please Christ.

A second qualification is the spirit of willing sacrifice, in the sense of endurance of hardness as a good soldier, and of surrender of all devotion to comfort and ease. The lot of the missionary is much easier in these regards than it used to be, and in many places is devoid of special privation. But where men would do what needs to be done in reaching the people, in thorough and far-reaching itinerating work in country and villages, in energetic and unresting activity, they will have to esteem home and the companionship of loved ones and ease and pleasant surroundings, as of less account than Christ and souls. Men are wanted who will be willing to be absent from home most of the time, and who will regard themselves as on a campaign and not as sitting down in a parish. And this spirit must be ready to count life as lightly as Paul counted it. I do not mean that martyrdom awaits us, but we must be ready to spend ourselves utterly.

"Sin worketh,
Let me work too.
Sin undoeth,
Let me do.
Busy as sin my work I ply
'Till I rest in the rest of eternity."

We must not only be willing to burn up for God, if that unlikely fate should befall. We must be actually burning out for God now, toiling, striving, driving; knowing that we must work the works of Him that sent us while it is day; for the night cometh, when no man can work any more. And this qualifi-

cation must be put in evidence by the missionary candidate here and now. Is he likely to be a flaming fire in the service of his God in Asia, if he is not one here in the United States?

If I have set these spiritual qualifications so prominently in the foreground it is because I believe that we are in danger of magnifying other aspects of the mission work above its primary spiritual character, and of forgetting that the world's evangelization is a spiritual work, a work of spiritual influence, and that the man who is not fit for it spiritually in the fullest sense, though he may do much good, is not a man after God's own heart, doing all His will. But next to these requirements I would place the need of a solid, balanced judgment, and of a clear, grave, alert mind. A man cannot have more brains in quantity than God has given him, but he can improve their quality, and if they be phenomenal or not is of little consequence, if so be that only he has disciplined them and got them in hand, so that they go square at any problem set for them, and are reliable and true in their judgments, and honest and unflinching. The mission work demands thought and study and the faculty of decision and determination on the basis of facts examined and conditions understood. The missionary candidate must learn how to use his mind, delivering it of all fancies and caprices. There are many men who are not deficient in mental gifts, but who are deficient in that steady, well tempered adjustment of will to mind wherein the former holds the latter true to the demands of each given task, and then taking the results pushes all life and work up to them. Good, grave sense; solid, clear, unexcited action; quiet, steady will —these are qualifications which, with a deep, holy, devoted life, make up the required man.

He should be a free man—belonging to no prejudice, and no person, save to the One who bought him, and to those who have been given him to love; open to large ideas and yet also to fidelity to the good that has already come. The candidate will have a vast deal to learn after reaching the field. Let him believe this, and not go as though knowing all. One of the dangers of the Student Volunteer Movement is that its members may, with their fine preparation and great advantages, forget that they are only preparing to learn, and scarcely learning as yet. To be sympathetic, humble, large minded, progressive on the foreign field, the missionary candidate must be these now.

And there is no new gospel with which he needs to familiarize himself, or which is desired on the mission field. The old gospel is the only gospel. No men are wanted whose theologies have lost hold of the divine Christ, the Cross of Calvary, and the Holiness of God. It is true that many men with weak, and unarticulated convictions have been forced in the face of heathenism and the evident sin of the world, to a Biblical and substantial faith; but it is a risk to send such men. Men rather are needed who have experienced the gospel of Christ, and know and believe it as the only gospel of God. Such men will not be blown to and fro by every wind of doctrine, but will stand calmly and peacefully with their feet on the Everlasting Rock; and their calm and peace will enable them to do in one year what others do in three, and to spend on the mission field three years where others spend one.

Some may feel that these qualifications are too high. I have no words of apology for that. I have spoken of no qualifications which are not wholly within the reach of every missionary candidate. He should,

of course, have a good constitution physically and the will to learn the language, but that has been assumed. These other requirements are such as are denied to no man who will receive them. Christ stands ready to give them to any man who will enter His fellowship and in the education of the abiding life submit to be taught and endowed.

These qualifications are as old as the Day of Pentecost and the Upper Room and the shores of Gennesaret. There are no nostrums, no short cuts, no outer embellishments worth a moment's thought. We are to do the work our Lord began in Galilee. We need for it the qualifications He possessed, none others. Let us find them where He found them: "I came down from heaven not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me," and "He that sent Me is with Me. He hath not left Me alone; for I do always those things that please Him." With these qualifications, we shall be workmen not needing to be ashamed at the day of His appearing.

The supreme thing is that a man should be Christ's —surrendered to Him, passionately devoted to Him, subject to His mind. That is the supreme qualification, and the man who has not this may be able to do many things, but he will not be such a missionary as a man of humbler gifts who yet has this greatest gift of all.

VIII

SOME CURRENT CRITICISMS OF MISSIONS

FIVE or six years ago there appeared in the *North American Review,* a wild article by some person named Linton, which dealt in part with what the writer called "the modern craze for missionary work," which led men and women to go off to "unlikely and unsympathetic countries, where the lives of the missionaries are in danger, where the converts they make are, for the most part, unredeemed scoundrels, and where the civilization of the people is older and more compact than our own, better suited to the needs of the people, and of the kind wherein morality, customs and religion are as closely and inextricably intertwined as the fibres of a plant. Separate them and you destroy the whole structure." The writer went on to denounce the missionary as "impertinent and meddlesome," and fanatically blind to his own wickedness and folly. "For all the misery and murder that may follow his tampering with established faiths—for all the unsatisfactory nature of the conversions he may make—he goes on in the old path, and shuts his eyes to the evil he so diligently effects. He is impelled by the craze of interference, and reason is as a dumb dog while he careers over the ground mounted on the hippogriff of an impracticable and a mischievous enthusiasm." This is one type of criticism of missions, a purely harmless type. The childish ignorance and petty bigotry which expresses itself in such school-boy oration style probably is not disappointed in effecting nothing, for it cannot hope to accomplish anything.

Yet it will serve to suggest the sweeping opposition to missions of those who do not believe in the enterprise in any sense whatever. That the heathen of Christendom should see no sense in carrying Christianity to their fellow heathen of heathendom is most natural; but it is inconceivable that any Christian should feel able to accept Christianity for himself and deny it to the world. If it is a good thing for him, why is it not good for the world? If it is good for the world, how can he be excused from giving it to the world? As an editorial in the New York *Tribune,* about the time of the *Review* article quoted, declared: "The missionary impulse is of the very essence of Christianity. Without it Christianity would be of less value to the world than the most ephemeral mutual benefit society. The Church must continually strive to preach the good news of the gospel to every creature, or else it shirks its commission, and forfeits its right to be numbered among the ethical forces of the world."

That men should criticize the methods of missions and the missionaries themselves is natural and intelligible; but that they should criticize the missionary idea betrays a total want of appreciation of the nature of Christianity, and of social obligation. Christianity claims to be the supreme good in life. The obligation of brotherhood commands us to share our good with men. The consequent missionary duty would seem to be as plain as noonday.

But to many it is not plain. Many who in the Church are forced to take some attitude toward missions, and many who outside cannot refrain from expressing their opinion, insist that though Christianity is good for us, the other nations have their own religions which are good for them. But there was a

time when that course of reasoning would have kept the gospel from coming to our ancestors. And there is in Christianity not the slightest discoverable justification for the view that it is good for some only, and that something else can be better for others. Moreover, there are no facts to show that the supposed good which other peoples possess can suffice in lieu of Christianity. A little knowledge overthrows the conceit that it can. Thus the New York *Post* wrote editorially six years ago, of the section of China where last year the Boxer atrocities shocked the world, "Another temptation of missionary orators is to ignore the strong light which travel and commerce, the study of comparative religions have cast upon the question of the condition in this world of non-Christian peoples. . . . Authentic accounts of the Chinese of inland and Northern China—of their splendid fibre, physical and intellectual, of their wonderful civil and social virtues—make the dispatching of emissaries of our civilization to them seem more than ever bizarre." Would the *Post* say that now? The simple fact is that as between the missionaries' representations of the need of the heathen world and the easy notions of writers who have not lived in its darkness, the former have been as much nearer the truth as they have had better opportunity to judge. If they have said that the world needs our faith just as truly as we need it ourselves, they have but represented the facts as they are. It was a traveller who was not a missionary who said of India, "An idea prevails that idolatry is not to-day the evil and horrible thing that it was when the apostles exposed it; that the 'Ethiopian has changed his skin and the leopard his spots.' Idolatry in India to-day, as elsewhere in history, tends to deteriorate and not to evolve the higher ideals of duty

and religion. . . . The Hindu religion is but the deification of lust and other evil passions. Krishna, the high Hindu god, is shown in its scriptures to be a perjurer, a thief, and a murderer. Such is the obscene character of the pictures and carvings in the temples and on the idol cars, that an act of the Indian Legislature in 1856, against obscene pictures had especially to exempt from its operation 'all pictures, drawings, or carvings in the temples, or on the idol cars.'" And the *Hindu,* a paper of orthodox Hinduism, said of its priestly class, "Profoundly ignorant as a class and infinitely selfish, it is the mainstay of every unholy, immoral and cruel custom and superstition in our midst, from the wretched dancing-girl who insults the Deity by her existence to the pining child widow, whose every tear and every hair of her head shall stand up against every one of us who tolerate it on the Day of Judgment, and of such a priestly class, our women are the ignorant tools and dupes."

To others it seems a sufficient answer to the missionary appeal to allege that nothing is accomplished by missions, and that it is futile to support the work because the work is futile. It is good to answer these criticisms by appeal to that newspaper opinion which the critics are accustomed to regard as infallible. "Any attempt to estimate this thrillingly interesting phenomenon," said the Boston *Daily Advertiser,* regarding the work of missions in Japan, "must fail through inadequacy that does not take largely into account the influence of Christian missions. Nothing but gross ignorance or invincible bigotry can lead anyone to overlook this aspect of the subject. For there is a bigotry of unbelief every bit as stubborn, stolid and foolish as any bigotry of religion that is or ever was. They who do not know what they are talk-

ing about still say that missionaries have made no impression in heathendom except upon a relatively small fraction of the lower orders of mankind. They who speak from knowledge say that in Japan, to take that one case, Christian ideas have already permeated the institutions and populations of the country to such an extent that from the Mikado to the humblest labourer at four cents a day, there is no man in the island empire who does not directly or indirectly feel the influence of the new religion, if not as a spiritual force, at least as a creative energy in politics, industry and learning. Statistics never can do more than dimly shadow forth the truth of such a matter. Yet statistics prove that already the faith of the missionaries has found multiplied thousands of joyful adherents, that the mission schools are educating tens of thousands of Japanese youth, that the missionary literature is scattered broadcast over that fertile field and that in all the native professions, in the ranks of the wealthy and powerful, and in all departments of the government, Christianity is deeply intrenched." And the missionaries have done this in Japan as they have done their work everywhere, with no weapon save the word of the gospel. The talk of missions and gunboats and of "the arm of flesh" has had just enough justification to create it, but not enough to keep it alive for a day. As a social democrat in the German parliament, occupying a position of incompatibility with Christianity, said once, "We acknowledge that there has been a healthful activity developed by the missionaries in Africa. They have shown how much everywhere in the world is to be accomplished by patience and love; they have proved that even with uncivilized tribes, hearts which have a fund of goodness, can accomplish much without the lash of compulsion."

The simple fact is that while civilization with its unceasing pressure is moving everywhere with levelling influence against the wrong customs and caste distinctions of heathen lands, the most powerful agency for purity and human elevation, especially of the peoples who have been depressed, is found in the gospel. As a Brahman gentleman wrote in a report on a census of Travencore, for which he was highly rewarded by the Maharajah, " By the unceasing efforts and self-denying earnestness of the learned body of the Christian missionaries in the country, the large community of native Christians are rapidly advancing in their moral, intellectual, and material condition. . . . Those who have come directly under their influence, such as native Christians, have nearly doubled the number of their literates since 1875. But for them these humble orders of Hindu society will forever remain unraised. Their *material* condition, I dare say, will have improved with the increased wages, improved labour market, better laws, and more generous treatment from an enlightened government like ours; but to the Christian missionaries belongs the credit of having gone to their humble dwellings, and awakened them to a sense of a better earthly existence. This action of the missionaries was not a mere improvement upon ancient history, a kind of polishing and refining of an existing model, but an entirely original idea, conceived and carried out with commendable zeal, and oftentimes in the teeth of opposition and persecution. I do not refer to the emancipation of the slave, or the amelioration of the labourer's condition, for those always existed more or less in our past humane government. But the heroism of raising the low from the slough of degradation and debasement was an element of civilization unknown to

ancient India. The Brahman community of Southern India are not doing to the lower classes what the casteless Britisher is doing to them. The credit of this philanthropy of going to the houses of the low, the distressed, and the dirty, and putting the shoulder to the wheel of depraved humanity, belongs to the Englishman. I do not think the Brahmans, or even the high-caste non-Brahmans can claim this credit."

Of course the men and women who have done this and all the rest of the work of missions are not perfect, and no one realizes this more than they do themselves. Of course their methods are not perfect, but no one is more anxious to make them so than they. And neither the imperfections of the missionaries, nor the imperfections of their methods are so great as to justify a neglect of the work of missions. Of the former, the *Hindu,* which is the most influential Indian newspaper in South India, says, "They are not as a class very brilliant men, but possess average ability, and a few of them are really magnificent men. But it is not so much their intellectual as their moral qualities that challenge admiration. Their simple lives, their sympathy with the poor, their self-sacrifice, all force admiration from their critics." Could more than this be said of any class of men at home? And what are the wrong methods which warrant criticism? It is said that the missionaries reproduce the divisions of Christendom and confuse the heathen. That is not true. The native converts of most missions know nothing whatever of the divisions of Christendom; and when they meet converts of another mission, do not know that they are not of the same church. It is said that the missionaries occupy the same territory and quarrel among themselves. Here and there a better distribution of the forces might be made; but

it would be called for not by the fact that there is not room enough where the missionaries are, but simply by the desirability of reaching as great territories as possible. And so one might go on. But why? If the men are poor and the methods bad, it is the business of the Church to send better men and to propose better methods. The whole enterprise is in its hands.

In truth, criticism is born of unjustifiable ignorance or is simply a cover for opposition. Men don't want to do anything for missions. They don't want to give. They don't want to be bothered with the sense of duty. Their own Christianity is just a sham, a superficial thing. It is not of any real value to them, and they do not feel drawn to make sacrifices or to go to trouble to propagate a sham, or to carry to people who believe in Islam, a Christianity in which they themselves do not believe. When men truly believe in Christ, they will fling the little cavils by which they benumb their consciences to the winds, and will gird themselves and go.

IX

THE ASSUMPTION UNDERLYING MISSIONARY CRITICISM

THE recent book of Mr. Stafford Ransome, with its criticisms of missions in Japan, revived for a few days in the newspapers the indestructible dislike of Christian missions and disbelief in the enterprise. Such revivals do no harm. On the contrary free criticism yields great advantages. If prompted by a bad spirit, it at least shows that the work is conspicuous and sufficiently effective to challenge attention; if by a spirit of religious indifference or of vindictive animosity, the missionary movement benefits by the contrast. On the other hand, sincere and honest criticism, intended to correct and improve, is to be welcomed ever. None welcome it more than missionaries. "Let me say," said Bishop Steere, "that all missionaries owe a debt of gratitude to those who call attention to the mistakes and failures of missions." What is exasperating, is to have men who know no missionaries, and who have never honestly examined their work, whose own life either by its omissions, or by its commissions, betrays a total unapprehension of the real significance of Christianity, pronounce dogmatic and universal judgments, too often flavoured by a sneer.

If criticism of missions is both welcome and valuable, it is very desirable to distinguish the different classes of critics. Some assail Christian missions out of spite and for personal ends. Unscrupulous natives whom missionaries or the missionary societies have exposed in their dishonest schemes, or foreigners whose business or personal life is condemned by the

mere presence of a missionary and the stern sanctions of Christian morality, make up one dishonourable class. A second and honourable one comprises those who believe that the methods of missions and the standard of devotion can be improved. I have met few missionaries who do not belong to this class of critics. Beyond these two classes, there are the men who do not believe in the missionary idea. Christianity to them is simply one of the world's religions, well adapted to the West, but not to be thrust upon unwilling Eastern nations. This is the principle of most of the popular opposition or indifference to foreign missions.

I believe this is true of the critics of missions in the Church. Innumerable pretexts are advanced first for indifference, the need at home, the failure of the enterprise, the inferiority of the missionaries, but these fall away and disclose at last a radical disagreement with the fundamental principle of missions. Beyond their philanthropic, educational, civilizing character and claims lies their vital religious genius. Jesus Christ is the Saviour of humanity and the completion of human life and the union of mankind with its Father. And He is the full way, truth and life. Neither is there salvation in any other. This is not a fiat of divine law. It is the statement of a fact of our moral constitution. "Such" as Harnack writes, "is the creed of the Christian Church. With this creed she began; in the faith of it her martyrs have died; and to-day, as eighteen hundred years ago, it is from this creed that she derives her strength. The whole substance and meaning of religion, life in God, the forgiveness of sins, consolation in suffering, she couples with Christ's person; and in so doing she associates everything that gives

life its meaning and its permanence, nay, the Eternal itself with an historical fact." Now this faith goes, the moment the principle of the ethnic and partial mission of Christianity is adopted. And that principle is adopted consciously or unconsciously, not by the critics only, but by the merely indifferent in the Church. Furthermore these people, in so adopting this view, vacate Christianity of its real content. If they have no universal faith, a faith demanding universal propagation, they have no faith at all cognate with the great Christian conviction of the centuries, and they surrender the very salvation of Christ. Let any one read Dr. DuBose's *Soteriology,* and see what it is that Christ is and does, and how He is nothing for one man if He is not everything for a world of men.

It is so obvious that it needs scarcely to be pointed out, that this manner of thought is the assumption of the critics of missions without the Church. They have never known Christ in their own lives. How can they be expected to deem Him essential to the world? Would not a recognition of the essential principle of missions be their own most pertinent self-condemnation? But we may surely invite these men to consider one inquiry. Apart altogether from criticisms of person or fact, from exact specification from which these critics hold so bashfully aloof, may we not ask them, at what points ought the Christian nations and the non-Christian nations to come in contact? "On the plane of diplomacy and international relations of course," they answer, "and this not with any sentimental intent, but with a view to commerce." And with many this is the final answer.

Dollars, trade, barter, this is life, its fulness and its goal. But, unfortunately this is not all. Commerce has carried with it all over the world the blasting vices

of the West. It has, with all its pure and honourable ministry, yet created with diabolic ingenuity the vilest wants, and poured into Manila, the South Sea Islands, Africa, Alaska, a torrent of liquor and of lust. The voice of the critics of missions is not raised against this. Men who are indignant at the religious propagandism of the missions of the Church have no word of loathing and detestation for the missions of hell and death. Mr. Hiram Maxim sneeringly declares that Christianity is violating the Golden Rule in carrying into China an unpopular religion; but he does not allude to the enthusiasm with which the Chinese welcomed death when it was dealt out to them by the Japanese from the venomous mouths of Mr. Maxim's guns. Is a trade in Maxim guns consistent with the Golden Rule? The French government recently opened a hospital in a certain Chinese port and invited leading Chinese residents to an introductory feast. In addition to the feast each guest found standing behind his chair a Chinese girl provided for him from the neighbouring brothels. It seems to me to be a fair question to ask: Is this the plane on which these critics think the East and the West should hold their intercourse?

Surely, even a man who has never come to the fulness of himself in a realization of God's life for him can yet rise above the idea of a world bound by gold chains, not to the feet of God, but to the counter, the bank and the vault. Nations of men should find contact on the plane of what is best in them, and, waiving the supreme claims of Christianity, we are surely not yet so sunk though, "we're sunk enough here, God knows," that we can be sucked down into an intercourse with Asia that leaves out the very secret and crown of our life.

And in such contact as this—contact on the highest plane alone—can the interests which the money seeker and the politician are in quest of be secured. When Mr. James Bryce came back from his recent trip to India, he frankly declared that his journey had at least convinced him of this, that unless England could succeed in Christianizing its Indian subjects, the Empire could not last, that nothing else could hold it together; that at present there were two sets of lives, two civilizations, two races in juxtaposition; that there could be no real interfusion and no possibility of mutual understanding except on the religious side; that unless we try to understand men as religious beings, we do not reach them on any other side. Viscount Cranborne, Lord Salisbury's eldest son, recently said the same things more frankly still.

The critic of missions must in some way dispose of the indestructible genius of Christian history. He must contrive to escape also from evidence against which his cavil cannot stand in any court in Christendom.

X

MISSIONS AND SPIRITUAL LIFE

DR. OTTO ZÖCKLER has remarked that "it arises from one and the same divine arrangement that the foundation for the mightiest triumphs of the human mind over the forces of nature was laid at the same time with the beginning of an earnest and energetic effort of Protestant Christendom to fulfil its missionary vocation." The mind that is open to the expansive purposes of God is alert also to catch new truth in every sphere. The missionary spirit is full of intellectual stimulus.

But there is an even closer relation between a true missionary interest and the spiritual life. The spiritual life is simply the reign of the spirit of Christ within. And the spirit of Christ is not a narrow or selfish or provincial spirit. The spirit of Christ in us cannot be different from the spirit of Christ in Him. He loved the world. He came to save the world. In Him God was reconciling the world unto Himself. His spirit did not realize itself in any inner development. Its goal was not fellowship with the Father. It reached out toward the needy and it led Him to die for the sinful as He strove to seek and to save the lost. And so in us the spirit of Christ would be what it was in Christ, the spirit of outreaching service, of sympathy as broad as the needs of the human heart and the woes of the human race. And there is something suspicious and deceptive about our spiritual life if it is able to tolerate easily a feeling of indifference toward those outer nations which Christ reached with His love but which we leave beyond the reach of His message.

To have a true spiritual life, therefore, is to be in sympathy with missions. And conversely, interest in missions feeds the deeper life. Obedience begets love, even as it evidences it. To have in mind the last command of Jesus, and to strive to be obedient thereto, keeps Jesus the Commander constantly before the mind and in the heart, and the memory of Jesus is a transforming power. It is impossible to be recalling every day His words, "Go, preach," "Unto the uttermost parts of the earth," without recalling Him to us as He stood among His disciples in Galilee, or as the clouds of heaven rolled down to welcome and enshroud Him on Olivet. And so we see Jesus. If any man wants, like the Greeks, to see Him who has not seen Him as clear and sweet as he desires, here is the secret he has been waiting for. Obey, and the effort to obey will make His love a new power and His presence a new joy.

Jesus Himself associated these things: "Go ye and make disciples of all nations, and lo! I am with you alway," and "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto Me unto the uttermost part of the earth."

The missionary spirit leads a man to think of the far distant people as though they were near. It makes him desire to subordinate all his own interests to them. He longs after those for whom Jesus died. He counts the world's ambitions cheap and tawdry in comparison with Paul's ambition to preach the gospel where Christ has not been named. He sympathizes with human suffering. He wishes to do and suffer himself for those who will never repay him and many of whom he will never see until he sees them at the Judgment. This is "losing a man's life." And this is "finding it again." The heart expands. The spirit grows sweet.

The love of God passing knowledge, and the peace of God passing understanding come to this man.

And all this is not theory. In fact, thousands of men and women can testify to the new spiritual life and joy that have come through this realization of those responsibilities to spread the gospel over the whole world which are inherent in Christian discipleship. Revivals of missionary devotion and of spiritual life have ever gone hand in hand. The great student movement in Great Britain which led Professor Drummond into the work for students at Edinburgh, and which exerted the profoundest influence at Cambridge, Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen, sprang from the consecration to missions of Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd, and the flaming zeal and spiritual powers which were in great measure the fruits of that consecration. The Rev. F. B. Meyer, who has been a blessing to thousands since, has testified that to the influence of these two young men he owes his entrance into the life of peace and power.

"He that hath My commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth Me; and he that loveth Me shall be loved of My Father, and I will love him and will manifest Myself unto him." Keeping His commandments,—that is missions. The Father's love and the manifested Christ,—that is the deepest of all deep life. What Jesus has thus joined inseparably together men will try in vain to keep asunder. Let us be wise to discern this and enter through the door Jesus has appointed into Life.

XI

MISSIONARIES AND THEIR RIGHTS

A STATE has certain duties toward its citizens. Looked at from the side of the citizen, these duties of the State are his rights. He may be a simple child, too ignorant to know his rights or unable to claim them, but the State has its duties to discharge to him, none the less, and he accordingly has his rights. What these rights are which the citizens of the State possess is one question. What each citizen will do with his rights is a different question.

As a citizen the missionary has, in general, exactly the same rights as other citizens. The fact that he goes abroad, not to make money but to do good, does not deprive him of rights recognized in the case of men who go abroad to make money, and who often make it through doing evil. Whether in any particular foreign land the missionary's rights are greater or less than the trader's, depends on the treaty stipulations between that land and his. But there is nothing in the nature of the missionary's work which abrogates in his case rights acknowledged to the merchant or the traveller.

It has been alleged in the case of the China missionaries that the claim that they "only ask the protection that every dweller in a foreign land is entitled to from his government is specious, because missionaries do not behave as ordinary residents. In China, at all events, they appear as conspirators against Chinese society and the Chinese State." That is not true; but even if it were, the question is closed by the simple fact that the treaties plainly declare that the missionaries and their converts "shall alike be entitled to the

protection of the Chinese authorities." As the United States Treaty declares, "Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets (*i.e.,* the principles of the Christian religion as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches), peaceably teach and practice the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested." It is said that William B. Reed, the framer of this treaty, stated that this "matter was brought forward and encouraged by the Chinese themselves." Neither Mr. Reed nor any of the other ministers then negotiating treaties with China had authority to insist upon this recognition of Christianity, "and if the representatives of the Chinese government had not urged it, there is no probability that such clauses would have been inserted." On the other hand, the right of trade was insisted upon by the Western Powers, and was extorted from the Chinese whether they would or not. The rights of missionaries to preach in China and to claim protection for themselves and their converts, are guaranteed by unmistakable treaty provisions. And there is no evidence that the Chinese did not willingly accede to these provisions.

In speaking of the ground of the intervention of the United States at the time of the riots of 1895, the Hon. John W. Foster, who has as much right as any man to speak alike for the government of the United States and for the government of China, said: "There seems to be in a part of the public press of our country a misconception of the ground upon which our government bases its intervention on account of these riots. It is not because we are a Christian country and are seeking to support a Christian propagandism in China. It is simply because the people in whose behalf our government intervenes are American citizens, pursuing a

vocation guaranteed by treaty and permitted by Chinese law. It should also be borne in mind that the Imperial government has repeatedly recognized the salutary influence of Christian missions in their moral tendencies, their educational and medical work, and their charities. The American missionary has the same right to go into all parts of the Chinese Empire and preach and teach in the name of his Maker as the American merchant has to carry on his trade with South America or the islands of the Pacific, and he has the same right to invoke the protection of his government when his lawful vocation is unduly obstructed or his life or property put in peril."

This states the case clearly. The missionary has rights as clear and solid as those of the trader. But it is nevertheless true that there exists a feeling in some minds that the missionary ought not to have these rights, and that therefore it is proper to deny that he has them. It seems to such minds anomalous that a man who goes abroad for an unselfish purpose should be recognized as having any civil or political rights. And often governments begrudge any recognition of them. They do not object to any expense in enforcing rights of traders, or recently naturalized aliens. Witness the recent case of Marcos Essagin. But missionaries are different. "I must not conceal from you," said Lord Salisbury, and it was a discreditable though unnecessary revelation, "that at the Foreign Office missionaries are not popular." There have been times when the same thing could be said of our State Department.

Why are they not popular? Not because they make a disproportionate amount of trouble; for they do not. Not because they lead dissolute or criminal lives; for they do not. Missionaries do not organize Jameson

raids, or wound natives as Essagin did in Tangier, or kill them as Logan did at Canton. No, there is a feeling that government has no responsibility toward missions, and that missionaries are bothersome when they obtrude their rights.

There is something in this undeniable feeling which Lord Salisbury so openly acknowledges that stirs one's blood. We have traders' rights which governments are glad to recognize and enforce, while the Christian teacher or doctor, working unselfishly for the good of the people to whom he goes, is a nuisance if he needs and accepts protection. But his rights are just as sacred as the trader's, and it is the duty of the government to assure them. For a Prime Minister, head of the Foreign Office, to say that his office dislikes missionaries is to indicate the unworthiness of his office and of his subordinates. Did he ever say that the men who deal in opium with China, or who have dealt in rum and fire-arms with Africa and the South Sea Islands were unpopular in the Foreign Office?

But beyond this it may be said that there have been times in the history of the British Foreign Office when a nobler sense of national duty prevailed, when ministers recognized obligations to mankind, beside which Lord Salisbury's unpleasant humour seems a squalid thing. After the public execution at Adrianople, in 1853, of a young Moslem judicially condemned to death for the crime of having apostatized to Christianity, the Earl of Clarendon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador at Constantinople: "The Christian Powers, who are making gigantic efforts and submitting to enormous sacrifices to save the Turkish Empire from ruin and destruction, cannot permit the continuance of a law in Turkey which is not only a stand-

ing insult to them, but a source of cruel persecution to their co-religionists, which they never can consent to perpetuate by the successes of their fleets and armies. They are entitled to demand, and Her Majesty's government do distinctly demand, that no punishment whatever shall attach to the Mohammedan who becomes a Christian." The Earl of Aberdeen had the same noble conception of the duty of a Christian nation when, in 1844, he wrote to Sir Stratford Canning: "The Christian Powers will not endure that the Porte should insult and trample on their faith, by treating as a criminal any person who embraces it." Taking this highest view of national duty, it may be maintained that governments exist more for the extension of truth and justice than for the extension of trade, and that those representatives who go out to teach men better ways and to lift up their life have more right to be defended than those who go for commerce, and far more, surely, than those who carry on debasing traffics, or who lead polluted lives. I am not originating this distinction. I have held that the State has duties toward all. But when men draw lines, and deny to missionaries rights which they claim for others, I believe it is just to reply that if distinctions are to be drawn, all the claims for excess of rights are on the side of the missionaries.

Let that pass; but let us have done with the nonsense that the State owes the duty of securing treaty rights and protection of person to some of its citizens, but not to others. The London *Spectator* stated the case clearly some years ago, when this same question was under discussion:

"It must next be asked whether when the missionaries go to China they ought to be as fully protected as other citizens doing their lawful business. It might,

perhaps, be arguable that missionaries in China could not claim the protection of England, supposing they were breaking the law of the land by teaching Christianity. Personally, we hold that there is a good deal to be said for the opinion that they should be protected even in that case, or, in other words, that no Christian State should recognize the right of a semi-civilized Power to exclude the entry of Christianity.

"It is not, however, in the present case necessary to discuss this problem. The legal right of the missionaries to live in China and to teach Christianity is absolutely clear, and is guaranteed by treaty. The men and women who were burned and speared the other day had done nothing contrary to the law, or for which they could have been lawfully punished by any Chinese tribunal. This being the case, we hold it to be mischievous nonsense to talk as if the Chinese missions did not deserve protection. Are men and women to lose their British citizenship because, in obedience to the voice of duty, and in order to carry out what they believe to be the will of God, they devote their lives to rescuing human beings from that appalling mixture of materialism and superstition which in China passes for religion? Is a man to have the English shield over him only as long as he buys tea and sells cotton; and is the teaching of, and ministering to, the degraded people of Southern China to be held as depriving an Englishman of his claim to be unmolested in a foreign country as long as he conducts himself in accordance with the law?

"If this were to be the rule, the consequence might, indeed, be curious. We should have questions asked in Parliament as to why nothing had been done in regard to the flaying alive of Mr. Brown, a Scotch tea-broker, answered by the remark: 'It appears that

Mr. Brown had been in the habit of teaching in the Sunday-school of a Presbyterian mission near the place where he was killed, and therefore the British government could not be expected to interfere.' The truth is, the attempt to say that the government ought not to bother about missionaries is absurd. Unless we are going to give up the idea that British citizenship is a full protection to all to whom it attaches, we must protect men whether they preach or teach, or only buy and sell."

But, as I said at the outset, what rights the missionary has, is one thing: what he will do with his rights, is a different thing. The second question is not one for discussion by those who deny him his just rights. It is a family question which missionaries and those who sympathize with them may discuss among themselves. It does not at all affect the duty of the State. It merely affects the claims that the missionary will make and his attitude before the world.

The missionary is at liberty to refrain from exercising his rights when he thinks he ought to do so. To be sure, the State is at liberty to refuse to allow him to surrender his rights. Consuls have obliged missionaries to accept protection more than once when they did not seek it. But the missionary can refrain from claiming what he has a right to claim. As Woolsey says in his *Political Science:* "Rights may be waived. The very nature of a right implies that the subject of it decides whether he shall exercise it or not, in a particular case. . . . It can never be too often repeated in this age that duty is higher than freedom, that when a man has a power or prerogative the first question for him to ask is: 'How and in what spirit is it my duty to use my power or prerogative? What law shall I lay down for myself,

so that my power shall not be a source of evil to me and to others?"

In a real sense, the whole missionary movement is a surrender of rights. The Incarnation was just this. Our Lord emptied Himself, counting not His right to be equal with God as a thing to be jealously retained. Every missionary gives up many rights in order to go to the mission field, and there his whole life is in a real sense a self-emptying and an abandonment of things he might have claimed. To what extent is this spirit to govern his relations to his own government and to the government of China for example?

There are some earnest missionaries who believe, as one of them says, that "every missionary in China should resolve that henceforth under no circumstances will he appeal to any earthly government. He teaches men everywhere to be subject to the powers that be. He prays always for kings and for all in authority. But he will bring before them no request for protection or aid. If his persecutions are not too great, he will bear them. If they threaten too much, he will flee. If his property is destroyed, he will take joyfully the spoiling of his goods in view of his heavenly treasure, and no representation of the case shall be made to Minister or Consul. If he is killed, his comrades will bury him, as 'devout men carried Stephen to his burial,' and they will do no more." This was to be the principle also of the Soudan mission, which Wilmot Brooke projected: "As the missionaries enter the Moslem States under the necessity of violating the law of Islam, which forbids anyone to endeavour to turn Moslems to Christ, they could not, under any circumstances, ask for British intervention to extricate them from the dangers which they thus call down upon themselves. But also for the sake of

the natives, who have to be urged to brave the wrath of man for Christ's sake, it is necessary that the missionaries should themselves take the lead in facing these dangers, and should in every possible way make it clear to all that they do not desire to shelter themselves, as British subjects, from the liabilities and perils which would attach to Christian converts from Mohammedanism in the Soudan. They will therefore voluntarily lay aside all claim to protection as British subjects, and place themselves, while outside British territory, under the authority of the native rulers."

This view ignores the fact that States have duties, and that even if a missionary thinks that he should not strive to prevent a bad government from doing wrong and injustice when it has bound itself solemnly, as in the case of China, to avoid such wrong and injustice, the State whose citizen he is must prevent such an evasion of solemn obligation and such offence against rights. And further, this view surrenders too completely to a vicious theory of the State. Is civil government ordained of God? If it is, what higher function can it have than to defend the innocent and guarantee justice? States as well as families and churches, are religious, and they have moral as well as commercial duties. It is not their business to coerce opinion. It is their business to prevent injustice. They may not undertake a religious propaganda, but neither may they permit a propaganda of assassination. And this view makes an indefensible distinction. If Christian citizens may exercise their political rights at home, they may do so abroad.

Furthermore, such a view assumes what needs to be proved, and what cannot be proved from history; namely, that religion must be wholly divorced from

politics. Every State must be religious. And every religion must deal with the organized life of man, which is politics. The two can be confused to the injury of each, and they can be separated equally to their mutual injury. But they have undeniable points of contact. As Dr. Nevius, one of the most sagacious missionaries to China, has said in a posthumous paper, on this subject of missionaries' rights:

"The adoption of any fixed, unvarying rule of procedure would be sure to mislead us. Some of the teachings of the Bible seem to present the duty of absolute non-resistance, abstaining from appeals to the civil power for protection under all circumstances. In other places we are taught that resistance to persecution and an appeal to the civil power for protection are legitimate and under some circumstances obligatory.

"The example of the Apostle Paul on his first visit to Philippi is remarkably apropos here. While he joyfully submitted to being seized, scourged, and thrust into the inner prison, when all might have been avoided by a word, we cannot (to use the language of Dr. Alexander) but admire the moral courage, calm decision, and sound judgment which he showed in the assertion of his legal rights, precisely when it was most likely to be useful to himself and others. This is enough to show how far he was from putting a fanatical or rigorous interpretation on our Saviour's principle of non-resistance (Matt. v: 39; Luke vi: 29) which, like many other precepts in the same discourse, teaches what we should be willing to endure in an extreme case, but without abolishing our right and duty to determine when that case occurs. Thus Paul obeyed it, both in letter and spirit, by submitting to maltreatment and by afterwards resenting it, as either

of these courses seemed most likely to do good to men and honour to God."

The missionary has his rights, and there are times when he may justly claim them, when it would be wrong for him to waive them and obtusely permit injustice and crime. Even if some evil is caused by his acceptance of his rights, it is less than would be caused if he waived them. On the other hand, there are times when he must surrender them in the interest of his mission. The right principle is that he should lay aside all selfishness, all desire for mere personal protection, and all "motives of a purely personal character" and do what will be best for Christ's Church. If the interests of Christ's Church will be best served by the missionary's death, he must die; if by his life, he must live. He has no right to surrender the interests of the Church to the claims of some rigid theory of his own, especially if it rests on an atheistic and immoral view of the functions of civil government.

The *Principles and Practice* of the missionary society which has the largest number of missionaries in China, sets forth a view with which, theoretically at least, I think the great majority of Protestant missionaries agree, and which I am quite sure defines their actual practice. A small minority of missionaries have ever made any representation of any sort to either Consuls or Chinese officials. "Too great caution," the *Principles and Practice* of the China Inland Mission declares, "cannot be exercised by all missionaries residing or journeying inland, to avoid difficulties and complications with the people, and especially with the authorities. Every member of the mission must understand that he goes out depending for help and protection on the living God

and not relying on an arm of flesh. . . . Appeals to Consuls or to Chinese officials to procure the punishment of offenders, or to demand the vindication of real or supposed rights, or for indemnification for losses, are to be avoided. Should trouble or persecution arise inland, a friendly representation may be made to the local Chinese officials. . . . Under no circumstances may any missionary on his own responsibility make any written appeal to the British or other foreign authorities. . . . In preaching and selling books the collection of large crowds in busy thoroughfares should, as far as possible, be avoided, and, where it can be done, any difficulty should be arranged without reference to the local authorities. . . . On no account should threatening language be used or the threat of appealing to the Consul be made. Great respect must be shown to all in authority, and must also be manifested in speaking of them, as is required by the Word of God. Where prolonged stay in a city is likely to cause trouble, it is better to journey onward; and where residence cannot be peaceably and safely effected, to retire and give up or defer the attempt, in accordance with the Master's injunction, 'When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.' God will open more doors than we can enter and occupy. In conclusion, the weapons of our warfare must be practically recognized as spiritual, and not carnal."

I think the Rev. John Ross, of Manchuria, one of the leading missionaries to the Chinese, expresses the common judgment when he says: "It is dangerous for us to demand always what we call 'treaty rights' —rights under treaties extorted from China. Better to quietly endure many a wrong than assist by ever claiming our 'rights' to deepen the sense of irritation

given by our presence in China. Where and when this endurance should end must be left to individual conscience."

Mr. Conger has consulted the desires of the missionaries in China on this general question of their political rights, especially in relation to the lawsuits of Chinese, and on January 24th, 1900, he wrote to Mr. Hay, regarding the proposal that Protestant missionaries should claim the political privileges accorded to the Roman Catholics, that he had consulted "the Protestant missionaries of all denominations, and at least nine-tenths of them, speaking from their own experience at treaty ports and in the interior, living near United States Consuls and far from them, expressed themselves as opposed to making any requests for like privileges, or, in fact, paying any attention whatever to the decree. The gist of all their arguments was, that the Chinese were continually soliciting the aid of missionaries in lawsuits and other local difficulties, requesting them to intercede with Chinese officials, etc., and that, if the rights and privileges accorded to the Catholics by the decree were by public edict given to them, it would be understood by the Chinese as a special authority giving the missionaries license and power to interfere, and so tend to make them civil advocates instead of gospel ministers. This they do not desire."

It is not necessary here to go into the question of the relation of missionaries to the trials and persecutions of the native Christians. Exactly the same principles govern there that govern in the case of the missionary. Rights are to be claimed or waived, not as the personal interest of the individual may suggest but as the interests of the Church require. The same treaty stipulations which ensure protection to the mis-

sionary in China cover the rights of the native Christians to freedom from molestation. The rights and the duties of missionaries and native converts in this regard are the same. They will accept or avoid suffering, not as they wish, but as they ought, in the interests of their spiritual enterprise.

For the missionary work is a spiritual work. It has spiritual motives, spiritual aims, spiritual methods. And while it is carried on by men who are possessed of civil rights which they have no right to treat with contempt, which they must use as the interests of their work demand, it is yet one right of these men that they may surrender their rights when, and to the extent, that it is to the interest of their cause that they should do so. When that may be, it is for them to determine for themselves; it is not to be determined for them by those who deny that the missionaries have any rights at all.

XII

CHRISTIANITY THE SOLITARY AND SUFFICIENT RELIGION

THE missionary enterprise is primarily and essentially the propagation of a religion. But is the religion worth propagating, or can the nations get along quite as well without it, and the world attain its full development by means of its own faiths? The study of comparative religion has raised this question and many others like it. In the earlier days of modern missions Christians are supposed to have despised and condemned the non-Christian religions, and to have supported the missionary enterprise on the supposition that there was no element of good and no saving power in them. To-day we are called to take up a quite different attitude. Some say that all religions are essentially alike, and that when once the external and local elements are subtracted, the fundamental conception is the same everywhere and of the same power. Others say that while there are great differences, yet the attitude of missions and missionaries should be wholly sympathetic and appreciative of the non-Christian faiths, and that missionary preaching should be the affirmation of the truths held in common by all religions rather than the assertion of what is distinctive in Christianity.

There is a great deal of prejudice on both sides of this discussion. Let us attempt to lay this aside, as far as is possible for men who believe unqualifiedly in Christianity on grounds of reason and examination as well as of experience and history, and endeavour to get

at the real facts. A Christian man may be tempted to deal summarily with the whole matter. "What is the use of reopening a closed question?" he may ask. "All the non-Christian religions, except Mohammedanism, were here when Christ came. He came to the best of them, pronounced it inadequate, and denounced its priests as hypocrites. If the non-Christian religions are sufficient, why did He come? Above all, why did He die? Calvary closes the issue of comparative religion. If Judaism needed Jesus nineteen hundred years ago, Hinduism needs Him to-day a thousand times more." This is a summary way of settling the question. To Christians it is absolutely final and conclusive. But we may waive this view now and accept the challenge to compare Christianity with the other religions.

1. There is nothing good in them that is not in it. They are not wholly bad. In each one of the great religions some vital truth is emphasized: the sovereignty of God in Mohammedanism, the divine immanence in Hinduism, human submission and gentleness in Buddhism, filial piety and political order in Confucianism, patriotism in Shintoism, the spirituality of nature in Shamanism—these are great and valuable truths, but (1) they need to be twisted out of the ethnic religions with charity and allowance. Dr. Jacob Chamberlain tells of a Brahman who asked him at the close of a lecture in Madras, in which he had quoted some noble passages from the Hindu Scriptures, "Sir, whence did you cull all these beautiful utterances? I never knew that our Vedas and poets contained such gems." "He knew not," adds Dr. Chamberlain, "the weeks of patient toil required in searching through bushels of rubbish to find these few pearls." And (2) these truths are held in distortion, unbalanced by needed

counter-truths. The Moslem holds the doctrine of divine sovereignty so one-sidedly that he gives up all hope of progress, loses all sense of personal responsibility for the change of evil conditions, and answers every appeal for energetic effort by the resigned protest, "It is the will of God." The Hindu holds the doctrine of divine immanence in so loose and unguarded a form that it becomes a cover for utter antinomianism. The man is his own god. The horrible immorality of much Hindu worship is the legitimate result of the pantheistic development of the Hindu doctrine of immanent deity. The Buddhists teach submission without its needed counter-checks, and listlessness and Nirvana even now brood over the Buddhist peoples. Confucianism teaches the ethics of a present life, and forgets that there is a life to come. Shintoism exalts loyalty to country and master, and goes to the extreme of subordinating to such loyalty the moral law. Shamanism makes every bush the house of God, and propitiates Him by adorning His house with rags or old shoes. The religion whose God is not above its bushes as well as in its bushes can do no better. (3) Christianity alone gathers up into itself all the truths of all religions. Their "broken lights" are repaired and fulfilled in it. It teaches that God is a person, and so escapes the peril of Hinduism. It teaches that He is a Spirit, and so escapes the danger of Islam. It teaches submission and activity, present duty and future destiny, loyalty to man only as grounded in loyalty to God and truth. In the balance of its ethics, also Christianity stands alone. The ethics of the non-Christian religions are as defective and distorted as their theology. They lack proportion; their sanctions are ineffective or unadaptive. They breed a distinctly abnormal type of character. Christianity alone fits

into the life of man, because it alone fits into the life of God. As Professor Fisher says:

"Christianity is not a religion which has defects to be repaired by borrowing from other religions. The ethnic religions are not to be denounced as if they were a product of Satan. St. Paul found ethical and religious truth in heathen poets and moralists. Yet Christianity, as it came in the fulness of time, is itself the fulness of divine revelation. It is the complement of the other religions. It supplies what they lack. It realizes what they vaguely aspire after. Christ is the unconscious desire of all nations. He reveals the God whom they are feeling after. In a word, Christianity is the absolute religion. It was the apostle of liberal Christianity who said that 'other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'"

2. There is in Christianity what is in no non-Christian religion. There are three great elements in religion—dependence, fellowship, and progress. The non-Christian religions supply the first of these. But even in this they err in weary excess. The sense of dependence with each of them resolves itself into fear. Their devotees invent cruel gods and live in terror of malignant spirits. But only Christianity supplies the need of fellowship and of progress. Only Christians call God "Father," and only Christian nations, or nations like Japan, which have gone to school to Christians, build patent offices, feel forth into the future, and put out into the open sea trusting God. Christianity presents distinct and original conceptions of sin, salvation, and the future, which set it in a class apart. Whoever speaks of it as on the same level with other

religions and not essentially different from them, has never compared its conceptions and theirs on these vital questions. If any one wishes to do this, let him read Kellogg's *Handbook of Comparative Religion.* The idea of personality, human and divine, which lies at the root of our religion is lacking elsewhere; while great ideals, for example, the ideals of service, purity, humility, santification, the home, which are commonplace to us, are foreign to the heathen world. Above all, only Christians possess a religion—not of a book, like Islam; a method, like Buddhism; a social order, like Hinduism; a political ethic, like Confucianism; but of a Person, once here in history, yet still here as Saviour and friend, with whom we are mystically joined, while yet He is still Himself and we are still ourselves. In this relationship to a Person, whose name it bears, Christianity sets forth its supreme characteristic, and cleaves an impassable chasm between itself and all other religions.

A remarkable testimony to the unlikeness of Christianity to the ethnic religions is presented in their larceny of Christian doctrines and conceptions. This fact has completely altered the character of the apologetic problem before Christianity in India and Japan. At first Christianity met Hinduism and Buddhism squarely, but they soon discovered that their position was indefensible, and at once began to shift their ground. To-day they present the old forms filled, for defensive purpose, with Christian notions. Vedantism is not so much a return to the Vedas as it is a gospelization, so to speak, of present Hinduism. The Swamis come to America and entranced audiences hang upon their words of spiritual suggestiveness and beauty, supposing that now at last they are hearing the pure teaching of Hinduism which the missionaries have

basely slandered. On the other hand, as the *Indian Nation,* an orthodox Hindu paper has said, "the pure, undefiled Hinduism which Swami Vivakananda preached has no existence to-day, has had no existence for centuries. . . . As a fact, abomination worship is the main ingredient of modern Hinduism." The Swami's representation is simply a confession of the success of the Christian onslaught upon Hindu corruption and a borrowing of Christian garments to hide its shame. As Dr. Barrows said temperately, after returning from his visit to Asia: "The world needs the Christian religion. I have given five of the best years of my life to the examination of this question, and I have had opportunities, such as no other man ever had, of seeing and knowing the best side of the ethnic religions. I count as my friends Parsees and Hindus, Buddhists and Confucianists, Shintoists and Mohammedans. I know what they say about themselves. I have looked at their religions on the ideal side, as well as the practical, and I know this: that the very best which is in them, the very best which these well-meaning men have shown to us, is a reflex from Christianity, and that what they lack, and the lack is very serious, is what the Christian gospel alone can impart."

3. Each of the non-Christian religions is full of evils and shortcomings from which Christianity is free. "I know," added Dr. Barrows to the words just quoted, "that beneath the shining example of the elect few in the non-Christian world there is a vast area of idolatry and pollution and unrest and superstition and cruelty, which can never be healed by the forces which are found in the non-Christian systems." It would not be enough to show that great evils exist in non-Christian lands. The contention here is that these evils are sanctioned by and are the fruits of the non-Christian

religions. Mohammedanism explicitly commands murder in the case of unbelievers who will not embrace Islam or pay tribute, and especially of every apostate from Islam. The Koran declares that those who resist God and His Apostle "shall be slain or crucified or have their hands and feet cut off on opposite sides or be banished the land." It specifically allows slavery, and the claim that conversion to Islam made a slave *ipso facto* free is simply not justified by the Koran. Islam also ministers to lust, practically without restraint. The Koran allows four wives and unlimited female slaves, and declares that good Mussulmans "shall be blameless" as to "the carnal knowledge of . . . the slaves which their right hands possess" (Sura lxx.: 29, 30). Furthermore, it places none but a flimsy, pecuniary difficulty in the way of divorce. "Woman in the ethics of the Koran," as Dr. Kellogg says, "is not practically regarded as a human being, but as an animal, to be used merely for the pleasure of her master, who, while he is charged to treat her with kindness, is yet formally invested with unqualified authority to beat or confine her whenever he judge her to be perverse, and abandon her when he please." Islam also makes war a religious duty, not in the sense of justifying it for the punishment of wrong, but as a means of spreading the religion.

Hinduism as a religion fosters obscenity and pollution. It is true that it enjoins much that is good. But immorality is directly sanctioned by the character of the Hindu gods, by the teaching of the sacred books, and by the nature of much of the temple worship. There is no word for "chaste" in Hindi which could be applied to a man. Some of the Hindu sacred books are incapable of translation for vileness. As a writer in the *Indian Evangelical Review* said: "I dare not give

and you dare not print the *ipsissima verba* of an English version of the original Yajur Veda *mantras*. . . . Even a Latin translation of these scandalous *mantras* would not, I imagine, be tolerated in a newspaper." Of the priesthood in India, the *Hindu*, the organ of orthodox Hinduism in Madras, and a paper of high standing, declares: "Profoundly ignorant as a class, and infinitely selfish, it is the mainstay of every unholy, immoral, and cruel custom and superstition, from the wretched dancing-girl, who insults the Deity by her existence, to the pining child-widow, whose every tear and every hair of whose head shall stand up against every one of us who tolerate it, on the day of judgment." Of the shrines and endowed temples, the same paper says in another issue: "The vast majority of the endowments are corrupt to the core. They are a festering mass of crime and vice and gigantic swindling." The essence of Hinduism is a social inequality. It sanctifies injustice. The code of Manu declares that a king "should not slay a Brahman, even if he be occupied in crime of every sort; but he should put him out of the realm in possession of all his property and uninjured." And, again, it provides that "a Brahman may take possession of the goods of a Shudra with perfect peace of mind, since nothing at all belongs to the Shudra as his own." Furthermore, the inequality and inferiority of woman in India is explicitly sanctioned by religion. The *Shanda Purana* says, "Let the wife who wishes to perform sacred oblation wash the feet of her lord and drink the water. The husband is her god, her priest, and her religion; wherefore, abandoning everything else, she ought chiefly to worship her husband."

Buddhism is a direct force in promoting indolence in Buddhist lands. Every male must spend part of his

life in the priesthood, and in the priesthood must make his living by begging. Buddhism also directly attacks the rights of woman. It denies her salvation as a woman. Her only hope is in some transmigration to be born as a man. It declares, in its Scriptures, that the "home life is the seat of impurity." It denies salvation to the man who loves.

And the trouble with China is in her Confucianism. That there is good there, every one joyfully admits; but the utter hopelessness and helplessness of the land are due to her sterile system of theology and ethics, her atheism. It is the Confucian system which forbids all change, formalizes life, produces pedantry, breeds conceit, and would hold the whole race separate from mankind.

If it be said that all this is unfair, that religions should be judged by what is best in them and not by what is worst, it may be replied that that is true, and that what is good has already been acknowledged; but that the science of comparative religion is a poor sort of science if it does not compare but varnishes over the vileness of the ethnic faiths, and evades the sharp issue that is presented here. The non-Christian religions are seamed with evil and unholiness. Christianity challenges the world to point to one defect in her.

It is often said that there are evils in Christian lands as well as in heathen lands. That is true, but it is beside the mark. The point is that the evils of Christian lands exist in spite of their religion and under its ban, while the evils of non-Christian lands are the products of and sanctioned by their religions. The sacredest things of Christendom are the purest things. The foulest things of Asia are its sacred things. It would even be fair to add that the best virtues of non-Christian lands are the natural virtues which have

escaped the evil influences of religion, while with us our best virtues are the direct product of Christianity.

And all this is not casual and accidental. So far as India is concerned, it results from a radical and essential difference between Christianity and Hinduism in the matter of the relation of religion to ethics, or rather of ethics to life. As Dr. A. H. Bradford says:

"Christianity is superior to the other religions because it alone identifies religion and ethics. Here I wish to speak with care. I do not say that the other religions ignore ethics, but that in them ethics is not essential. A man may be an orthodox Hindu and treat half his fellow men as if they were dogs; a man may be a sound Mohammedan and believe that he is justified in killing those who are not Mohammedans; a man may be a Buddhist and at the same time be an adulterer; but if a man treat his fellow men as if they were dogs, he cannot be a Christian; if he commits murder, even though it be in the name of religion, he is a murderer and not a Christian; if he is an adulterer, until he has repented and forsaken his sin he is not a Christian. Christianity never teaches that if a man holds a good creed he may live a bad life. . . . Jesus identified religion and morality."

This issue cannot be too sharply presented as between Christianity and Hinduism. In Hinduism there is no indissoluble connection between right opinion and right life. That is the unanswerable criticism which Mr. Meredith Townsend makes upon Swami Vivakananda and the religion which he has tried to recommend to Western minds. There is no vinculum in it between religion and morality. Indeed, the line between good and evil itself disappears. Dr. Kellogg

quotes Mr. Muhopadhaya, an educated Bengali gentleman, as saying, in *The Imitation of Sree Krishna:* "To our mind virtue and vice, being relative terms, can never be applied to one who is regarded as the Supreme Being. . . . Conceive a man who is trying his utmost to fly from vice to its opposite pole, virtue; . . . imagine a being to whom virtue and vice are the same, and you will find that the latter is infinitely superior to the former." Nothing could be more abhorrent than this to the Christian mind. And yet we are bidden to recognize the essential kinship of all religions!

4. It follows from the comparison, not of the actual life, but of the religious ideals of Christians and non-Christians, that the sacred book of Christianity is of a class wholly above the books of the ethnic religions. The Bible is not just one of the sacred books of the world. No other book is to be mentioned in the same breath with it. The taste which the Bible itself has created often suggests nowadays the expurgation of some of the Old Testament stories; but let any one compare these with the fourth section of the first volume of the Kojiki, or with some of the Tantras, or any of scores of the Hindu sacred writings, or with Suras II. and IV. of the Koran, and he will drop them with a sense of shame or a sense of horror, and come back again to the restrained, chaste, and purposeful records of the Christian Scriptures. When we compare the Bible with the religious books of the non-Christian religions, as to cosmology, theology, anthropology, ethics, philosophy, psychology, history, it rises above them with such sheer superiority as to make them seem insipid and puerile. Consider the influence of the Bible for good. "How narrow and poor in comparison," exclaimed Dr. Barrows, in his farewell address before

going to Asia to deliver the Haskell lectures, "has been the ministry of other sacred books! How limited to national areas! . . . The Bible, entering as life and truth, justifies its claim by what it has wrought for the savage and civilized races of men. It has lifted the mind and transformed the life, enlarged the horizon and given to human darkness the bright atmosphere of celestial worlds. To the ancient Greek the knowledge of the Old Testament and the New brought fresh constellations to his sensitive and ever-expanding intelligence, and, surveying the effects which the Bible has wrought on some modern peoples like Japan, ambitious to get out of the primitive stages of civilization, one writer, using a thoroughly modern metaphor, tells us that 'the translation of the Bible is like building a railroad through the national intellect.'"

5. The non-Christian religions, in their popular and applied forms, grow worse and worse. The chasm between their ideal and real widens every year. There is enough that is evil in their ideal, but there is also much that is good. The maxims of the Confucian classics are often admirable, full of preservative order for the life of men and of states. Buddha must have been a character of real attractiveness and purity. The Vedas contain noble theistic passages and many high ethical suggestions. Mr. Townsend is surely right in calling Mohammed "The great Arabian." But granting all that can be claimed, it remains true that all this has been impotent. However great and pure the initial religious impulse of the ethnic faiths, or the impulses of their great awakenings or historic reshapings, the practical life of their adherents drifts further and further away from their theoretic ideals. And there is in these religions no power of self-purifica-

tion. Their golden age is behind them, never to reappear.

Christianity, on the other hand, has the power of self-renovation. Again and again the ideals have become obscured, only to burst forth again in greater clearness and power. And never has the gulf between the actual life of Christians and the principles of Christianity been as narrow as to-day. There is enough that is unsatisfactory in the life of Christian peoples and inadequate in our apprehension of the Christian faith; but we understand it better now than ever, and we draw nearer to it in our practice. And we move on toward our golden age, still to come.

This is one reason why Christianity is the only religion of progress. All the peoples who are beyond its pale are stationary or retrogressive. All the progress of the world is either in Christian lands or where Christianity extends its influence. It is inaccurate to attribute this movement to race, for within the same race the Christian element awakens to life, breaks through its restraints, and moves, while the non-Christian element remains stagnant and dead.

And Christianity, the only religion which begets progress, is the only religion which can live with progress. All the theoretical defence of the non-Christian religions is wasted. The relentless movement of destiny is crushing them out. As Griffith Jones says, with true discernment, in *The Ascent Through Christ:* "The nations called Christian are everywhere pressing hard upon all other nations. Western civilization in all directions is disintegrating both the customs of savage nations and the more stable civilization of the East, and it is everywhere being shown that in this general break-up of old and effete orders there is an

imminent peril. For where our civilization penetrates without our religion it is invariably disastrous in its effects. It never fails to destroy the confidence of subject races in their own creeds and customs, without furnishing anything in place of their sanctions and restraints. The result is everywhere to be seen in the way in which heathen nations neglect our virtues and emulate our vices. The advice sometimes given to the missionary, therefore, to leave the people to whom he ministers to their simpler faith, is beside the mark. These faiths are inevitably going; soon they will be gone; and the question presses: What then? If history proves anything, it proves that a nation without a faith is a doomed nation; that it cannot hold together; that it inevitably decays and dies. From this point of view alone, then, there is a tremendous responsibility laid upon us. The impact of our civilization is breaking up the fabric and undermining the foundations of the ethnic religions. Without religion of some sort nations must perish. Therefore, we must see to it that we give something in the place of what we take away, and that something must be the Christian faith or it will be nothing."

And the profound reason for this radical difference between Christianity and the ethnic religions is found in the unfolding of a divine life in man. They are codes, methods, opinions, institutions. Christianity is not merely a better code, method, opinion, institution. It is Christ, the divine Lord moving in history and human hearts. And missions are not an offer of some superior thing, but of this one inflowing of divine life. "I believe," said Mrs. Bishop, at the twenty-first anniversary of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, "and this belief has been forced upon me in spite of a very great indifference to missions with which I started on

my journey, that England can offer to these races nothing that will bless and change their lives and affect them for lasting good, except an historical Christ, a reigning Christ—an object not only of worship, but an object of love." Yes, and not an object of love only, but a fountain of life as well.

6. What, then, ought the attitude of Christians to be toward the non-Christian religions? In the first place, it goes without saying that they should not be treated with scorn and contempt. There is a great deal in them deserving scorn and contempt. It is not because of what they are that we should treat them and their adherents with kindness and pity. It is because we are Christians. In the second place, it ought not to need to be said that the ethnic religions should not be treated with silly and ignorant sentimentalism, or with foolish and utterly indiscriminating tolerance. They should be treated just as we ask to have Christianity treated—with absolute justice. We do not ask any favour for Christianity. We challenge men to find a flaw in it or to point out any evil. There is no right way to judge other religions save to seek fearlessly and relentlessly for the exact truth about them. The complaint of one writer on comparative religion is wholly unscientific and unjustified: "We judge the ethnic faiths harshly and unjustly, by an over-insistence on their darker aspects, instead of comparing their best with our best." That is special pleading of an unwarranted sort. We ought to compare other religions and Christianity in detail and exhaustively, leaving nothing out. It is absurd to throw out the despicable elements of other religions, and compare the residue with Christianity. The comparison should be of like with like, evil with evil, good with good, influence with influence. The Vedas should not be compared with

morality in the Red Light District. The Red Light District is not Christianity. Compare the Hindus with the Americans if you will, but compare the Vedas with the Old Testament and Krishna with Christ. Compare without favour. The truth is the supreme thing.

Some hold that while Christianity is superior to the other religions, yet each has its contribution to make to the great world religion. One of the officially declared objects of the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893 was "to inquire what light each religion has offered or may afford to the other religions of the world." Dr. Miller, of Madras, set forth this view in a lecture that created great discussion at the time, just before he left India in 1895. "India has her ideal," he said, "and whatever be the weeds which hinder its bringing forth fruit unto perfection, it is an ideal of which the world has need." This ideal he defined as "the omnipenetrativeness of God and the unitedness and solidarity of men." Now this view that Christianity is not the final and complete religion is here and now explicitly and unhesitatingly contradicted. No religion can supply it with anything it lacks. Christians may be enabled to understand better what their own religion contains by being forced to discover in it what other peoples and nations require which has as yet been undiscovered or only partially appreciated by us. But the Christian religion is complete and needs nothing from any other. It holds all ideals needed by all men. In opposing the establishment of a chair at Berlin for the study of comparative religion, and in declaring himself as opposed to the study itself, Harnack was too harsh and narrow; but there is a vast deal more to be said in favour of his attitude than of that of the others just quoted. His reasons, as a correspondent gives them, were: (1)

"There is only one religion, which was revealed from God. Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Judaism, Brahmanism, and other so-called religions are the inventions of men. One has come down from heaven; the others are of the earth, earthly. One is a divine revelation from the Creator of the universe, the others are moral philosophy. (2) The theological department of the university was established by the government to train men for the ministry. The Bible, the inspired word of God, is the only necessary text-book. It contains enough of truth and knowledge to employ students during their lifetime, and it would be better for them to stick to it rather than waste their strength and time in the study of other creeds which can be of no use whatever to them. (3) If theologians or students have curiosity to know what has been taught by impostors and the inventors of false religions, they can do so in connection with the department of history or philosophy." It is not necessary to be violent or bigoted, but on the other hand it is possible to be too complaisant and complimentary.

A distinction should be drawn in considering our attitude toward the non-Christian religions, between the relations of individuals meeting as individuals, and the relations of religions officially and representatively. In the first case all misunderstanding can easily be avoided. The purpose of the Christian is to commend his religion to his brother, to persuade him of its truth, to lead him to accept it. In the latter case the purpose is conference, with recognition involved and the offer of equality. It is well-nigh impossible to carry this through without strengthening the advocate and representative in his position. This was the issue of the Parliament of Religions. Among its objects were these: (1) "To bring together in conference,

for the first time in history, the leading representatives of the great historic religions of the world. (2) To show to men, in the most impressive way, what and how many important truths the various religions hold and teach in common. (3) To promote and deepen the spirit of true brotherhood among the religions of the world, through friendly conference and mutual good understanding, while not seeking to foster the temper of indifferentism, and not striving to achieve any formal and outward unity. (4) To set forth, by those most competent to speak, what are deemed the important distinctive truths held and taught by each religion, and by the various chief branches of Christendom." The consequence in America was to stimulate the study of the other religions for good and also for evil, but abroad its influence was distinctly stiffening to the non-Christian religions, so far as they were touched at all. Thus Baurin Yatsu Buchi and Shaku Soyen, two of the Buddhist delegates from Japan, on returning, reported in Yokohama their impression as follows:

"The Parliament was called because the Western nations have come to realize the weakness and folly of Christianity, and they really wished to hear from us of our religion and to learn what the best religion is. During the meetings one very wealthy man from New York became a convert to Buddhism, and was initiated into its rites; he is a man of great influence and his conversion may be said to mean more than the conversion of ten thousand ordinary men; so we may say truthfully that we made ten thousand converts at that meeting. The great majority of Christians drink and commit various gross sins, and live very dissolute

lives, although it is a very common belief and serves as a social adornment. Its lack of power proves its weakness. The meetings showed the great superiority of Buddhism over Christianity, and the mere fact of calling the meetings showed that Americans and other Western peoples had lost their faith in Christianity, and were ready to accept the teachings of our superior religion."

It would not be worth while to dig up this ancient history if it were not such an excellent illustration of the effect of the attitude of concealment of distinctions and the abatement by Christianity of its essential claims. Every man who has tried to persuade other men upon any issue knows that while a starting-point of common agreement is always necessary, it is equally necessary at once to move on from this to the points of difference upon which conviction is sought. And the peril among simple and ignorant people always is that the initial acknowledgment of common truth will be made a justification of adhering to old opinion, and that further persuasion will be in vain. As a matter of fact, people are won not by admitting that what they have is quite satisfactory, but by proving that it is not. It is the most natural thing in the world that Dr. Miller's position should result in few conversions. What is there to be converted to? We are not offering to the heathen world simply a rearrangement or clarification of ideas which it has already. We are offering it salvation through Christ, the Saviour. And their own religions are absolutely barren of that conception. We need to remind ourselves often of what Bishop Gore called "the duty of right intolerance in these days when there is such a tendency to break

down moral distinctions and throw over everything the mantle of an invertebrate charity."

It is said that St. Paul indicated to us, in his speech at Athens, the right attitude of Christianity toward the non-Christian religions. But that may be questioned. To discover St. Paul's attitude toward heathenism, read the first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. That is comparative religion with a judgment of thunder against the whole world. If it seems harsh, let us read Isaiah's condemnation of idolatry (Isaiah xliv. 10-17) and the solemn intolerance of the Apostle of love (II. John 7, 9, 10).

If the contentions here set forth are valid, it follows that the missionary obligation rests on principles which are incontrovertible. Christians have the one true religion. They are bound to propagate it. In doing this, they are making known to the world the only salvation. For "the offer of Christ to sinful men wherever they can be found is not the offer of an alternative religion to them, in the sense in which Hinduism and Taoism and Confucianism are religions. It is the offer to men of *the secret of life,* of something that will cleanse them from all that hinders and defeats their spiritual natures, of something that will enable them to realize their true selves, and become men in the true and full sense of the word. We do our Master little honour when we place Him among a group of teachers competing for the acceptance of men. He is not one of many founders of religions. He is the source and fountain of all, in so far as they have caught a prophetic glimpse of His truth, and anticipated something of His spirit, and given a scattered hint here and there of His secret. He is the truth, the type, the saving grace of which they faintly and vaguely

dreamed; the desire of all nations, the crown and essence of humanity; the Saviour of the world, who by the loftiness of His teaching, the beauty of His character, the sufficiency of His atoning sacrifice, is able to save to the uttermost all who will come to Him and trust in Him."

XIII

THE INIQUITY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA

THERE appeared some time ago, in The New York *Times,* an article by Mr. Sydney Brooks, entitled "Regulation of Missionaries in China." Its main propositions were that missionaries have no right to be in the interior of China, and that, whether there or on the coast, they are supported only by foreign arms, that they are ignorant, untactful and troublesome, and doing not a little evil, and that they are responsible for the political difficulties. The remedy proposed is that missionaries should be deprived of their foreign protection, and even of their foreign citizenship.

A good deal of this sort of thing has appeared in the newspapers. It is easy to write, for it requires no patient study of facts, and it pleases many people, who are not reluctant to find reasons for refraining from supporting the missionary enterprise. And it is in the main harmless. Indeed, it is encouraging in a way, for it shows that some who would be glad to pass missions by as unimportant and ineffectual are forced to confess their power. Such articles are scarcely worth answering, save to call attention now and then to their extravagances and to make them an occasion for setting a little more clearly before the public the significance and character of Christian missions.

Mr. Brooks's article especially would not call for notice if it were not for its plausibility and the publicity it has received. It is not original, it is not in-

telligent, and it is not true. It is in part a condensation of Mr. Alexander Michie's books on *Missionaries in China,* and *China and Christianity,* with scant credit given to Mr. Michie, and with little of that "openness of mind" which the author credits to Mr. Michie, and which saves that stringent critic from the unpleasant spirit and the indiscriminate sneers of Mr. Brooks, and from some of his blunders. "The Chinese," he says, for example, "cannot for a moment be brought to believe that women who . . . worship in the same church along side of men can possibly be moral." There are tens of thousands of Chinese temples which testify against this judgment. There are no separate temples, or hours of worship for men and women in China. "Men and women," as a correspondent of *The China Mail* writes, "come and go (in the temples), acquaintances and absolute strangers elbowing each other, rubbing against each other, tens and scores and hundreds of them." That has been Chinese usage, and is not regarded as an outrage on ethical propriety. As a matter of fact, Christian worship is more orderly, more ethically correct than the worship in Chinese temples. Let any traveller attend the most popular temples in Canton, for example, and then any Christian chapel or church, many of which have partitions separating the sexes, and contrast them. It is true that the infamous publications sent out by Chou Han from Hunan made some such criticism as that of Mr. Brooks; but it was with slanderous and malicious purpose, and the temples of Hunan daily refuted his falsehood.

Each of Mr. Brooks's propositions is surrounded by such misinformation. He alleges that the missionary's "presence in the interior is in itself a violation of a solemn compact." What compact? Residence and

acquisition of property by missionaries in the interior of China are guaranteed by clear treaty provisions, confirmed by imperial edicts, and acknowledged by the Chinese officials. The British treaty of 1858, Art. XII., contains the words, " British subjects, whether at the ports or at other places, desiring to build, etc." More than once Consuls and Chinese officials have interpreted these words as giving the right to reside and purchase property in the interior. In some treaties (Netherlands, Austrian, Spanish) it is declared that merchants " shall not be at liberty to open houses of business or shops in the interior;" but no treaty contains such restrictions as to missionaries. In the Chinese text of the French treaty of 1858, Art. III., it is stated, " It is permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure." Whatever questions others may have raised about this clause, the Chinese Government has never denied its authenticity or validity. Indeed, Chinese officials of their own accord have often extended these rights to missionaries, and on the declaration of war between China and Japan, the Chinese Foreign Office at Pekin addressed to the Ministers of foreign countries a memorandum requesting them to notify missionaries to remain at their posts, and promising all such the protection of the Chinese Government. The rights of merchants and traders to reside and purchase property in the interior are far less solidly established than those of missionaries. Indeed, the Netherlands treaty, which in Art. III. denied to merchants the right of carrying on business in the interior, provided in Art. IV. that " Netherlands missionaries of the Christian religion, intent upon the peaceful propagation of the gospel in the interior of China, shall enjoy the protection of the

Chinese authorities." I ask, What solemn compact is violated by the presence of missionaries in the interior?

But it is asserted also that the missionary is "supported and protected by foreign arms," that "the evangelists are maintained by foreign arms; they live within call of the avenging gunboat, and they are not backward in summoning its aid." The Presbyterian Board has twenty-four stations in China, at which missionaries reside. Of these, nine at the most are within reach of gunboats. The great majority of missionaries are in the interior, and I do not believe that Mr. Brooks can cite one instance where missionaries alone have summoned a gunboat's aid. There may have been such, but I cannot remember one. Large bodies of missionaries in China are opposed on principle to doing such a thing, and of those who are not, the majority would rather suffer the petty difficulties of oppression and injustice than resort to such an extreme measure; and have so suffered quietly, or resorted only to peaceful representations to their Consuls. But doubtless Mr. Brooks does not intend to be taken literally here. If he does, then I have only to say that his statement is false, most of all, his declaration that the missionaries are not backward in appealing for armed interference. I suppose he means, however, by these reckless statements, only that "missionaries were thrust upon him (the Chinese) through treaties exacted by foreign coercion" and that the Chinese "Government protects them against its own inclinations, and against the sense of the people, through fear of foreign pressure." He neglects to state that the wars which were terminated by these treaties were fought for the sake of commerce, and the first one, as the Chinese maintain, in

behalf of a ruinous and abhorrent traffic; that no war has ever been waged nor any battle been fought for the imposition of missionaries upon China or for their protection. And the implication of this second quotation I have just made from his article is the common and erroneous one that the Chinese Government has a peculiar dislike of the missionaries as such, while it has learned to endure other foreigners. "When the ordinary foreigner is tolerated," says Mr. Brooks, "they (missionaries) are hated." "The trader, the consul and the diplomat have won their position. They are not liked, but they are acquiesced in." Now it is significant that in the very document to which Mr. Brooks appeals as proposing "the best and only means of escape" from present difficulties, the Chinese Government declares, "The Chinese Government . . . is not opposed to the work of the missions." Innumerable edicts and proclamations have commended the missionaries. I have before me a copy of one of these issued by the Emperor in 1844, sixteen years before the treaties which Mr. Brooks says thrust missionaries on China. The Rescript of Prince Kung, issued in 1862, declared: "The missionaries are well-disposed men, and are in their own country greatly respected by others, and whereas their first object is to instruct men to do good, they must be treated with more than usual high consideration." Scores of proclamations to the same effect have been issued by local prefects. One issued in 1895, by the Prefect of Nanking, will serve as illustrative of many: "Now having examined the doctrine halls in every place pertaining to the prefecture, we find that there have been established free schools where the poor children of China may receive instruction; hospitals where Chinamen may freely receive healing; that the mis-

sionaries are all really good; not only do they not take the people's possessions, but they do not seem to desire men's praise. . . . Although Chinamen are pleased to do good, there are none who equal the missionaries." Prior to the issue of this proclamation, the magistrate invited the missionaries to dinner, and treated them with unusual honour. If it is said that these utterances are insincere, and exacted by "fear of foreign pressure," it may be replied that there are too many cases in which such suspicions can be proved to be unfounded.

I do not cite these edicts as worthy of acceptance at face value, but only as supporting the assertion that the official utterances of the Chinese Government are favourable to missions, and that the insinuation that Christian missions, as such, are detested by the Chinese is unjust. Christianity is objected to primarily not because of its doctrines or practices, but because it is a foreign religion, and because European Governments have succeeded in deeply impressing its foreign connections upon the Chinese mind by the way they have made it a cat's paw, and pretext for political and territorial aggrandizement. This view is easily capable of proof. The very placards and publications which produce anti-missionary disturbances speak of the missionaries not as Christian propagandists, but as foreign intruders. "Attack and beat the foreigners." "Determinedly destroy the Western men." These are specimens of Hunan mottoes. "All dealings with foreigners are detestable. These men have no fathers or mothers. Their offspring are beasts," is a sample Canton proclamation, scattered in a city where the Chinese have been dealing commercially with foreigners for hundreds of years. Such placards are issued where there are no

missionaries. As soon as news arrived that Shashi was to be made an open port in 1896, anti-foreign placards were posted over the city. There have been, and according to ex-consul Read are, no missionaries at Shashi. And outrages are not confined to the persons of missionaries. Mr. Margary was not a missionary, and it was the Ministers, not the missionaries, who were the centre of attack in Pekin.

The missionary appears prominently because he is everywhere. He is the only foreigner that most of the Chinese see. He lives where no trader will go. And so he bears the brunt of anti-foreign dislike. For this his reward is the sneers and ignorant reviling of men like Mr. Brooks. The missionary is doing his own work, but he is doing, too, the work of civilization. He is its vanguard. As has been well said, "China has been opened professedly by treaty, but China has to be opened by something else besides a treaty. There is an enormous amount of personal and friendly contact work to be done and that is being done by missionaries on a scale of magnitude, with a diffusiveness, and general tactfulness, that entitle them to commendation, and not censure." The missionary is helping to open the Empire, while the reactionary mandarins want to keep it shut. He is indomitable. He has a motive which makes life and comfort of secondary consequence. He secures a lodgment where civilians would fail. "He gets access to the people; he talks to them in their own mother tongue; he shows them that the foreigner is not the horrid monster he has been pictured to them; but a human being like one of themselves—a man who knows how to be neighbourly and courteous, and pays his debts and can be trusted; who visits the sick and helps the poor, and evidently seeks the good of the

community where he is. His notions as they consider them, about a resurrection from the dead and a future life, may not interest them much; but the man himself they do appreciate, and they say that if all foreigners conduct themselves like that, they cannot be such a bad lot after all."

But this is not Mr. Brooks's view. In his opinion, missionaries are "not well educated," are untactful, careless of local prejudice, speaking a "bastard Chinese," guilty of "blundering provocation," ignorant of "the philosophy he is intent on overthrowing or the language which must be his chief weapon," bigoted and sectarian, "enthusiastic girls who scamper up and down the country." I should like to have the names of the missionaries in China with whom Mr. Brooks is personally acquainted, and who have supplied him with that knowledge of them and their disgraceful defects which alone can entitle a man to issue such a slanderous representation. I know more than two hundred missionaries in China, and am familiar with the methods of selection and the requirements of the various missionary boards and societies at work there, and I have met also many foreigners in China in other occupations, and I place my knowledge against Mr. Brooks's ignorance in saying that the average missionary is far better educated, better bred, more familiar with the people, their language and their thought, and infinitely more in sympathy with them, than the average foreigner, and that no other foreigners in China—merchants, traders or diplomats—are superior to the best missionaries, and very few of them their equals. With that open-mindedness which Mr. Brooks so admires in others, Mr. Michie avoids any such indiscriminate abuse as Mr. Brooks allows himself in his unrelieved picture

of missionary incompetency. "The great service which missionaries have rendered to the cause of knowledge can never be forgotten," wrote Mr. Michie, seven years ago. "It is to their labours that we owe what we know of the Chinese history, language and literature. Missionaries compiled the only dictionaries as yet in common use; a missionary translated the classics into English, laying the whole world under perpetual obligation; missionaries have explained the Chinese religions. A missionary has quite recently made a valuable contribution to descriptive anthropology, the first attempt at a systematic analysis of the Chinese character. And, turning toward the Chinese side, the missionaries have the credit of awakening thought in the country, and their great industry in circulating useful and Christian knowledge in vernacular publications of various sorts, though comparatively barren of result in its main purpose, has spread the light of Western civilization far and wide in the Empire. The benefits conferred on China by these literary labours, and especially by medical missions" (for which Mr. Brooks has not one appreciative word), "are fully acknowledged by educated Chinese who have no leaning toward Christianity as a religion." Li Hung Chang is one of these. "You have started," he told the representatives of missionary organizations in New York, September 1, 1896, "you have started numerous educational establishments which have served as the best means to enable our countrymen to acquire a fair knowledge of the modern arts and sciences of the West." The missionaries are the most intelligent foreigners in China. They are the true representatives of the West. They are organizing the schools and colleges which the Chinese themselves are founding. They have been interpreters for our Consuls and Minis-

ters. For years a missionary did the work of the American Legation in Peking, while others bore the title and the credit. And these are not merely exceptional men. Almost all missionaries are required to pass language examinations, and if any fail to acquire the Chinese, they are quietly retired. As for their being poorly educated, almost all the men sent from America are college graduates, and the women far better educated than ordinarily well educated women at home. Mr. Brooks could learn many things from a proclamation of the Prefect of Paotingfu in 1895, in which he said, the missionaries "are chosen from men of superior character and learning, who, after successfully passing an examination, are suffered to come out to China. Moreover, none of the missionaries of these societies come at the commission of their sovereigns, nor are they animated by any other motive than to obey the last command of Jesus, who bade all His followers without fail to preach the religion far and wide, and thus fully attest the sincerity of their faith and love. Refusing to do this, though members of the society, He could not recognize them as of the highest character."

Mr. Brooks condemns the missionaries for their hostility to ancestral worship, their contempt for Chinese superstitions like *fungshui*, or geomancy, the seclusion and secrecy of their work, and their protection of their converts. As to ancestor worship, a few missionaries plead for toleration, but the great majority believe that the rites of worship are idolatrous, though at the same time they appreciate the immense value of the spirit of filial piety, and endeavour to preserve what is not idolatrous in it. As to local geomantic prejudices, perhaps headstrong and thoughtless men have sometimes acted unwisely (can

Mr. Brooks give instances?); but the missionary is the last person to view the animosity of the people with indifference. He wants to gain a hospitable entrance and to conciliate the people, and succeeds in doing so. "To the credit of the missionaries," says Mr. Michie, who denies the spontaneous friendliness of the people to missionaries, which no one asserts, "it must be said that wherever they settle they gain the affection of many of the natives." As to the secrecy of Christian work, Mr. Brooks is referring evidently to Roman Catholic missions, as he singles out "especially the secrecy of the confessional." I shall not speak of this, save to say that Protestant churches, schools and hospitals are ever open to inspection, and invite the fullest scrutiny. As to the protection of converts, Mr. Brooks charges that they come usually from the lower classes, that they are dishonest debtors who want protection from Chinese courts. The missionary "fights their legal battles for them, supplying them with money and advice, and securing for them a sort of consular protection by means of which their suits are transferred from Chinese to foreign courts." This question of the protection of converts is to many missionaries a difficult one. Some will not touch the lawsuits of native converts at all. Others will interfere only in cases of persecution because of their religion, while still others insist that these are just the cases in which there should be no interference. That there is possibility of abuse here, all missionaries admit. One of their most difficult tasks is to sift the motives of inquirers, in order to refuse those who want to join the Church for the sake of such help. The practice of missionaries is not uniform as yet, but the principle on which all Protestant missions act is to avoid interference as far as they can possibly

do so, and to exclude this political element from the Church. This is a point on which they part widely from the Roman Catholics. They flatly refused to accept the privileges secured to the Roman Catholic missionaries by the French Minister in 1899, enlarging their political influence and prescribing certain rights of visit and communication between Catholic missionaries and provincial officials, which the latter had previously refused. As the bishops of the Anglican Communion in China wrote to Mr. Conger, "We have no wish to complicate our spiritual responsibilities by the assumption of political rights and duties, such as have been conceded to the Roman Catholic hierarchy." Mr. Brooks's contemptuous opinion of the character of the converts has been sufficiently belied by the heroism with which scores, perhaps hundreds, of them have met death without denying their faith, when a little of that hypocrisy which, according to Mr. Brooks, brought them into the Church, might have saved them in their time of trial.

For this time of trial, Mr. Brooks holds the missionaries responsible. "Of the needless causes of irritation the missionary is easily the most prominent." And he begins his article by discrediting the plea which the missionaries may make, that the political pressure of the West and the seizure of territory and "the endless demands for concessions are the real occasions of this semi-national uprising." Well, let some one else than a missionary be heard. Mr. Barrett, formerly Minister to Siam, is as reliable a witness as Mr. Brooks. "The spread of Christianity in the province of Shantung," he says, "met with few checks until the commercial spirit of a great European country apparently inspired it to seize a portion of Chinese territory and a port in this province. . . .

Whenever it was my privilege to discuss anti-foreign sentiment with intelligent Chinese, I found invariably that they placed the chief blame upon the land-grabbing spirit of the European countries." Surely the Chinese Government itself is competent to testify on this point, and this is its judgment, put forth in an edict issued in July, 1900: "Since the first days of our dynasty, all the foreigners coming to China have been invariably treated with liberality, and, coming down to the eras of Taokwang (1821) and Hienfung (1851), we concluded with them treaties of commerce and intercourse and conceded to them the right of propagating Christianity. Latterly, however, the foreigners have come to encroach on our territories, to rob us of our good people and to plunder by force our properties, thus trampling under their feet this favoured land of ours. Thus have they deeply wronged us, and the results have been the destruction of their churches and the murder of their missionaries."

But it is not right for the sake of argument to assent to such a partial statement. A dozen things enter into anti-foreign feeling in China. Its sources are found in the Chinese officials, their character and their education, in the agents of foreign powers, in the Chinese people, in the spirit of Western peoples, in foreign trade and its representatives, in the Roman Catholic Church, in the Protestant missionaries also, and in the history of China's relations with the West. It is unphilosophical as well as unfair to single out any one of these and lay the blame there alone. As Mr. Brooks himself admits, "possibly most of the antagonism is fundamental." Assuredly it is, but not, as he says, "inevitable." If missions had been let alone, free from the burden of the political blun-

ders and misdeeds of the West, and especially free in the case of Roman Catholic missions from the patronage of France and now of Germany, while the mistakes of individuals and of the movement would have caused some difficulty, this would have been easily lived down, and Christianity would have made its way, as it has been making its way in a hundred fields in China, without political support and with the increasing favour of the people.

"In that case," Mr. Brooks might ask "why is not my suggestion acceptable, namely, that missionaries should be divested of their foreign citizenship, or at least of their right of political protection? In no other way can the political element in their propaganda be destroyed." That is a question which I shall answer, not as one who sympathizes with missions, but as a citizen of the State. (1) Such a course would be treason to civilization. The missionary is its forerunner. He makes way for light and human movement. But beside that, to remove from him the shelter and protection of Government is to imperil every foreigner. The Chinese does not stop to distinguish. To put the missionary at his mercy and to acknowledge the right of the Chinese to expel or exclude or assassinate him is to take one step toward gratifying the Chinese desire to exclude all foreigners. (2) Such a course would be criminal. It would be the announcement to China that the missionary was fair game. "Steal his property, kill him, outrage the women," it would proclaim. "We will not interfere. We leave them to your barbarous and hideous cruelty to do with as you please." If certain rights had never been granted, to refuse to grant them now would be one thing. Having been granted, to take them away is quite a different

thing. (3) Mr. Brooks's proposal is childish folly. He might as sensibly propose that missionaries' passports should be viséed by the man in the moon. This country does not denationalize its citizens, least of all its best citizens. Wherever in this wide world they go, they go under the shelter of its flag, and secure in its certain protection. (4) Such a proposal is insolent effrontery. The missionary is to be denationalized. There is no provision for naturalization of foreigners in China. The missionary is to be a man without a country. The American harlot in Shanghai can fly the Stars and Stripes over her brothel. The American saloon-keeper can demand the Consul's protection in Tien-Tsin. But the missionary, teaching, preaching, healing the sick, is to be an alien and a stranger. Sydney Brooks (I invent the illustration) selling rum in China can claim the rights of his nationality and stand with its whole power behind him. Phillips Brooks preaching the gospel in China is an outcast, a political pariah. I find it impossible to suppress a feeling of stern indignation at such an infamous and contemptible proposal, infamous and contemptible in its view not so much of the rights of missionaries, as of the duties of civilized States.

But Mr. Brooks alleges that something must be done to regulate the missionary. "Until his relations with the Chinese people and the Chinese Government are radically altered, there can be no hope of settled peace." The shortest answer to that is a flat contradiction. Rather let the European nations stop using missions as the "advance agent of annexation." Let them deal honourably and firmly with China. Let them repent of their folly in throwing away the unparalleled opportunity for peaceful reformation presented in

1898, by the Emperor and Kang Yu Wei—an opportunity produced by missions—and atone by helping China to break with her iron conservatism and shake loose her grave clothes.

And, lastly, and not to follow Mr. Brooks beyond this, even into his curious appeal to the early history of Christianity, the missionary's influence, he holds, is subversive, and his propaganda will have revolutionary effects. In a sense, this is not true. The missionary's work is not destructive. It follows the lines of national character and qualification. Christianity has adapted itself to more peoples, and more diverse peoples, than any other religion, and it is compatible with any orderly and righteous government, of whatsoever form. It does not attack the Chinese political system or social life. Yet in a sense the charge is true. Christianity is a power of upheaval and renovation. It turns the world upside down. It begets wrath against injustice, eagerness for liberty, impatience with ignorance and sloth, and passion for progress. It has done this in China. It will continue to do this in China, whether in war or in peace, with the sympathy of the Christian nations or with the petty criticism and futile opposition of newspaper publicists. That is its mission in the world. In his naïve language, the Prefect of Paotingfu suggests that, if men do not perceive it and are not in sympathy with it, they cannot, by the judgment of Jesus, be regarded "as of the highest character."

XIV

ARE THE MISSIONARIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TROUBLES IN CHINA?

WHAT were the real causes of the late troubles? The view that would lay the whole responsibility on the missionaries seems on the face of it improbable. And, when we consider the quarters in which this view is chiefly advocated, it seems to be a startling change of opinion. A writer in *The Japan Weekly Mail* said of some of the newspapers in Japan which have been presenting this view, what must have occurred to many readers of papers at home:

"If it be true that 'the proper study of mankind is man,' then somebody ought to devote a little time to the *genus homo* that edits certain English papers in the open ports of Japan. New elements of logic and mental philosophy might be added to the general store of human knowledge. In ordinary times these papers represent the missionary as a half-educated, narrow-minded bigot, who labours in vain to make an impression on these enlightened Eastern people. And, now that a great anti-foreign crusade has arisen in China, all the trouble is laid at the feet of the missionary.

"Seizure of territory by foreign governments, forced railroad and mining concessions, disturbing ancestral tombs and temples in the enlargement of concessions for the foreigners, opium importation under protest, and other forced aggressions upon the Chinaman, are things he rather likes. You see, that

is what he is there for, and so he has long ago realized that his wealth and resources are for the foreigner to exploit. So the Chinaman has long ago submitted peaceably to all this. But these missionaries are a continued menace to the integrity of the empire. They come along and distribute themselves throughout the vast expanse of the country, say about one to two hundred thousand natives, and begin to translate Bibles and text-books, preach and proselyte, build schools and hospitals, with abominable foreign money, instead of demanding it of the Chinaman, teach foreign languages, foreign science, foreign religion, and foreign medicine. This is too much of the foreign stuff for him, so he rises up in his wrath to put the high-handed missionary out, and, of course, in his unreasoning madness, he makes all foreigners suffer alike. Now this is what makes certain English editors in Japan mad. If only the abominable missionary could be driven out, and other peaceable foreigners left to their railroads and mines, justice would be perfected.

"Now the interesting point about all this editorial wrath is the veiled compliment passed upon these half-educated missionaries. If a little more than two thousand of them can stir that vast, sluggish empire to such a depth, what mighty men and women they must be! Their influence is greater than they themselves ever hoped it would be. And, as they do not use guns nor wear swords in their daily work, it is a striking proof that the pen is still mightier than the sword. They have managed some way to exert a tremendous influence upon those teeming millions. Surely there must be some mistake in thinking that the missionaries are responsible for it all. Perhaps these editors have not read the recent placards and

edicts that have been published. In these the Chinaman himself counts the missionary as only one of his many grievances. I suspect he is about right. These editors have got things mixed up in the big stir. It really concedes too much power and influence to the missionary to say that he did it, or even a greater part of it."

But this dismisses the question too lightly. The missionaries have been working hard in China for many years. They claim to have made a deep impression. Has this impression been disturbing and revolutionary? If it has been disturbing, is this due to mistaken practices on the part of the missionaries, or to the unavoidable changes wrought in the spirit of men by Christianity?

Among the mistaken practices charged against the missionaries are interference with the authority of Chinese officials, the reception of bad characters into the Church, neglect of Chinese prejudice as to styles and location of buildings, religious rites, and social usages, indiscriminate philanthropic work, carelessness as to Chinese superstitions, and unsympathetic criticism of Chinese literature and religion. These are the general charges, as the Rev. Gilbert Reid summarizes them in his sensible little book on *The Sources of Anti-Foreign Disturbances in China.* Undoubtedly individual missionaries have made mistakes, and there are diverse opinions among them as to the proper attitude on many of these points. But the same thing is true of missionaries in other countries, yet there have been no such anti-foreign disturbances in these other countries, save in India in the Sepoy rebellion, and no one now charges missionaries with responsibility for that. Moreover, the people who could

have been aroused to the point of such uprising by the missionaries' mistakes in these matters are few and scattered, and are counterbalanced by the great hosts of friends the missionaries have made. Further still, the recent troubles were very distinct and easily traceable. They sprang from the Boxer uprising and the support it received in Peking from officials near the Dowager Empress. Neither the Boxers nor these officials cared anything for the missionaries as such, or for their religion. They were in enmity against all foreigners, missionaries among them.

The real causes of this trouble and of all troubles in China, even of the difficulty known as the opium war, are general and complex. Many of them are found in the character of the Chinese people; others, in the character of the Western people. The Chinese are proud, exclusive, conservative, ignorant from our point of view. On the other hand, we are self-willed, aggressive, with great racial conceit, and ignorant from the Chinese point of view. The whole history of the relations of China and the West during the century has been a record of clashing and friction, the Chinese hating the West, and wishing to be free from it, but unable to escape from its encroachment. Missions have occupied an insignificant place until lately. The Opium and Arrow wars were fought for commerce. The ports have been opened for commerce. Diplomacy has worked for commerce. Yet the Chinese have resisted all the time, and have never lost hope of being able to drive the hated foreigner away. As one of them, a scholar of the Hanlin or highest degree, wrote in "the *Ching-Shih-wen,* a so-called Blue Book of China:" "They must take everything and overcome everything, and nothing short of this will do. But we, the Chinese people, will

rise *en masse,* and thrust our swords into the foreigners' bellies."

The fundamental truth is that the animosity of the Chinese is political or racial rather than religious or social. Dr. Martin, who knows the people as well as any one, says, "Not one attack on missionaries that I ever heard of was made by Buddhists, Taoists, or any other sect, on the ground of religious differences," while many an attack has been made on others than missionaries for other than religious causes. Some years ago, a Hindu soldier struck a Chinaman at the British consulate in Chinkiang. In half an hour the foreign settlement was destroyed. In 1883, a drunken Englishman named Logan shot a Chinese boy at Canton. The result was a riot which nearly destroyed Shameen, the foreign quarter, and left bitter feelings which have scarcely yet died away. Many other cases of the same sort might be cited, showing that the Chinese do not single out the missionaries for hatred, and that they have had many things to irritate them that exceed in exasperation the quiet and conciliatory work of the missionaries.

It is sometimes declared that the Chinese are satisfied to have the Western trader, and, of course, the diplomat who must accompany him, but that they do not want others. As a matter of fact, it is trade which has aroused more dissatisfaction than anything else, perhaps, save the seizure of territory. When the foreign railroad was built from Woosung to Shanghai, it aroused such a storm of indignation that the viceroy purchased it and tore it up. Intelligent Chinese to this day cannot repress their indignation at the conduct of Great Britain in forcing the opium traffic upon her. In her treaty with the United States it is expressly stipulated that "citizens of the United

States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of China, . . . or to buy or sell opium in any of the open ports of China." Some people say that the Chinese government's opposition to the opium trade is not sincere, but that trade has had a large part in increasing anti-foreign discontent. And the foreign machinery which has been introduced, and each improvement in transportation, involves the destruction of the means of livelihood of thousands. The common Chinese idea is that foreigners get the advantage of the trade with them, and take the money out of the country. And the Chinese notice the immorality and coarseness of much Western life which they see. A missionary was once speaking of the superiority of Western morality in the interior of Central China, when a man in the crowd spoke up contemptuously and said, "I have been in Foochow Road." Foochow Road is the Shanghai street of brothels in the foreign concession.

How large a part encroachment by Western powers on Chinese government and territory has had in the awakening of this recent passion of anti-foreign feeling, any one who knows China can say. As the editor of *The Japan Mail* puts it: "The truth is that for several years the Powers of Europe have been shaking the Chinese wasps' nests assiduously. They imagined that the insects had lost the capacity of stinging, and that nothing would rouse them to reassert it. There will be some hurts before the swarm is peacefully hived again." And Colonel Denby has attributed the recent crisis to the appropriation of land by European governments. When Japan seized Chinese territory after the China-Japan war, the Chinese demanded that Western powers should show their friendship by driving Japan out. Now Russia has

taken Manchuria and Port Arthur; Germany, part of Shantung; England, Wei-hai-Wei and more land at Hong Kong; France has enlarged her rights, and province after province has been claimed by formal agreement as territory for the exclusive exploitation of this power or that. Captain Brinkley's figure of speech might well be reversed. The wasps have been stinging poor China, and she has turned on her tormentors.

It may be said that, though all this is true, the part of the missionaries in protecting their converts from Chinese courts, and in themselves appealing for government protection, has confirmed the Chinese in the idea that they are political marplots, and in some sense agents of foreign powers. But any appeals for government protection have been the effect, not the cause, of the troubles; and, even so, the protection has been not so much appealed for as authoritatively extended. As for the other charge of protection of converts, it is true that there is room for abuse, that missionaries have been tempted to use influence with local officials to prevent what they believed to be injustice, and that the officials, while yielding to such influence, have resented its exercise. Just what the limits of propriety and duty are here, it is hard to determine. But I believe all Protestant missionaries would join in such a statement as this which the Central China Mission of the Presbyterian Church sent to Minister Conger, in reply to his inquiry as to whether he should attempt to secure for Protestant missionaries the enlarged protection which the French minister had secured for the Roman Catholic missionaries: "While not wishing to lose the present rights of friendly intercourse with neighbouring officials, we strongly deprecate making the Church subservient to political

ends, which will now more than ever characterize the work of Rome in China. Should we, even with the best of motives, demand similar rights, the tendency would be to make us civil advocates instead of gospel ministers, to demoralize the Christians, and to thwart the spiritual ends of the gospel. We hope, therefore, that the United States Minister will not claim for us the rights and prerogatives recently accorded by this edict."

The grain of truth which is in the bushel of chaff constantly appearing in the newspapers on this subject is this, namely, that the missionary work is producing a deep impression in China. Possibly the perception of how deep this impression is does move some keener-sighted mandarins to hostility against the missionaries, not as foreigners only, but as teachers of a new religion. As Mr. Alexander Michie, a sharp critic of the missionaries, writes: "It is possible that the most constant source of opposition to the Christian propaganda is one that is never explicitly referred to in speech or writing,—the apprehension of loss of influence by the whole lettered and official classes. In the patriarchal and theocratic system under which the empire is administered, the magistrates of all ranks in their official capacity, and the scholars as amateurs, not only rule, but aspire to regulate the people in their various concerns, and, as they must know by instinct that the success of the propaganda would involve the solution of their traditional tenure of influence, their implacable hostility to Christianity may be inferred without reference to its merits as a religion." On the other hand, Christianity is building up vastly more than it is thus threatening. What it is threatening it is fast supplanting with something vastly better, while the whole world

has lost patience with China because of just that spirit which, Mr. Michie says, begins to perceive its most deadly foe, and therefore best friend of China, in Christianity.

The gist of the whole matter is this,—for any trouble in China the missionaries are not responsible. For a great deal of movement, of discussion, of change, they are responsible. In any such stirring of life there is sure to be waste. Chips mark every workshop. But the hostility which missions as missions have aroused, either by their mistakes, by the blunders of foolish or bad men, or by the inevitable conflict of diverse principles, they have atoned for by a vastly greater amount of friendliness and intelligence regarding the West which they have produced. They have suffered from the use Germany made of them in Shantung, when she demanded exorbitant reparation in territory for the murder of two missionaries, and from their too close connection, whether in fact or in Chinese opinion, with Western political influence. If let alone within their treaty privileges, even if these had not been rigorously pressed, as, indeed, they have not been, except spasmodically (and some would lay much of the blame on the complacency of Western powers in this regard), missions would have continued to do their work quietly at the roots of Chinese life and nationality, with that certain but peaceable result for which the missionaries are willing to wait with a patience which civilization cannot endure. This is one of the enigmas of human progress. Why cannot the forces which work within be let alone to do their work, slowly, but with inevitable and natural result? Instead, the missionary must adjust his work to the merchant's, the consul's, the soldier's, and, taking a dead tree, at the same time produce the sap in its

veins and the fruit on its branches. If any one has a right to complain at the marring of his work and the disturbance of his plans, it is the missionary,—in Shantung, for example,—who looks inland on the ruins of his hospitals, churches, and schools, and then coastward on the frowning walls of military fortifications, and the embankments of railroads, which with real violence rolled resistlessly over the Chinese farmers' ancient prejudices and vested rights.

But complaints are of no avail. There are many forces making the new world. Sometimes they clash. Sometimes they work harmoniously. Missions will not stop for trade or government, and trade and government will not change their course for missions. It is best that all the forces work together for the progress of the world, and that they spend in the attempt at co-operation the strength which, in some quarters at least, is so readily wasted in abuse.

XV

THE SCUTTLE POLICY IN CHINA

THE events of the year 1900 fixed the attention of the whole world on China, and for many people reduced the question of missions to the question of missions in China. Missions in China, many assumed, cannot be, or ought not to be, carried on any longer; and they easily make the transition in their thought and propose to discontinue their support of missions generally. Men have always acted, and will always act, as much upon the theory that the less includes the greater as on the principle that the greater includes the less. In this particular case the course which many have proposed to pursue overlooks two obvious facts. One is, that it would cost more to stop missions in China temporarily than to carry them on, and even their permanent discontinuance would for a few years involve more expense than their maintenance. The other is, that vast as is China, it constitutes but one third of the unevangelized world, and there are about 800,000,000 human beings in other lands, to whom the Church is under whatever obligations to preach the gospel have ever led her to preach it anywhere.

But why are any people assuming that missions cannot be, or ought not to be, carried on any longer in China? Some have taken this view because they have believed the missionaries to be responsible for the troubles. But the missionaries have been in China for more than fifty years; they have lived in the treaty ports and in the interior, and they have not stirred up any such troubles before. And what excitement

may have grown out of their presence has been disproportionately small. Their relations were never easier or pleasanter with the Chinese than they were at the time of the Boxer outbreak. On the face of it, the contention that they caused the trouble is incredible. On the other hand, the political events of the last few years were of an altogether new sort, containing just the incentives necessary to such a national uprising. When these events culminated in the German seizure of a section of Shantung, "a cry of indignation arose all over China," wrote Dr. John Ross, "such as I never heard before," and China broke loose at last. This was the explanation of Li Hung Chang. Asked to give his view of the cause of the present outbreak, an official in China wrote to *The Independent:*

"His excellency flatly asserted that it was due to the deep-seated hatred of the Chinese people toward foreigners. China has been oppressed, trampled upon, coerced, cajoled, her territory taken, her usages flouted. Her people believe they have both the right and the power to act as a sovereign nation. Especially irritating was the high-handed course of the Germans in the occupation of Kiao-Chou. It was largely in consequence of the aggression of the Germans that the Boxer Society grew and strengthened in the surrounding region, viz., the province of Shantung."

The Japan Mail, October 6, 1900, commenting on this declaration, said: "It will be observed that the old viceroy does not say one word about the missionary. We commend the fact to the observation of the critics who undertake to expose the mainsprings of Chinese acts." It will be enough to add two more testimonies which are conclusive. His Excellency Wu

Ting Fang, in detailing the causes of the troubles, declared at Montclair, New Jersey: "It has been said that the missionaries are responsible for the present troubles. I believe that this charge against them is unfair." And the Hon. John Goodnow, United States consul-general at Shanghai has flatly asserted that it is "absurd to charge the missionaries with causing the Boxer war. They were simply hated by the Chinese as one part of a great foreign element that threatened to upset the national institutions."

But even if one conclusively answers the ignorant charge that missionaries were responsible for the troubles, there is a vague antagonism that refuses to define itself clearly so that it can be met. It insists that the missionaries were at least involved in the affair, that the situation would have been less distressing if they had not been mixed up in it, and that when new treaties are made their liberty to venture into danger should in some way be curtailed. We might as well speak right out about this. There have been martyrdoms. And martyrdoms are anachronisms nowadays. That a man should go off to Alaska and die in attempting to get gold, or to West Africa and die of fever while engaged in trade—that is intelligible. There is money in it. But to go off for religion, and to die in trying to do good to other people for nothing—that is a type of fanaticism that should be dealt with by law and prohibited by treaty. There is abroad still a deal of the spirit which Mrs. Browning pillories in "A Tale of Villafranca":

"Then sovereigns, statesmen, north and south,
Rose up in wrath and fear,
And cried, protesting by one mouth,
What monster have we here?

A great deed at this hour of day?
A great, just deed and not for pay?
Absurd or insincere!'

Even within the Church there are many who shrink from the idea of personal risk or danger and who counsel caution. They would have had the missionary enterprise withdrawn from China until missionaries can return with perfect safety. The constant murders and riots in America do not seem to occur to such good people; and probably they have not analyzed their own instincts, and would shrink from some of the consequences of such an analysis. The burden of sorrow for the loss of dear ones for the moment hides all else from their view. Yet, as a matter of fact, it is not those who have lost dear ones who feel this way. They seem to have enough of the spirit of heroism which filled those who fell to be incapable of any weak and fearful course.

Both inside and outside of the Church, of course, there are many who welcome the objections to missions which have grown out of the China troubles. There are the Christians who are always ready for any pretext for the escape of obligation, who declare that they must now discontinue their missionary contributions—which they never made—and relinquish their missionary interest—which they never felt. And there are the forces always hostile to Christianity. Some of the newspapers have *con amore* represented these, printing the grossest slanders of missionaries from men who have refused to come into the open, some of them because their own records were bad and they feared the light. It has been an amazing revelation of the malignity, the venom, the malice of which men are capable. The very thought of missions, a clean

movement, an unselfish movement, seemed to sting these men and newspapers into almost uncontrollable spite and bitterness. As Captain Mahan has said "The best evidence of the existence of a personal devil is the attitude of non-Christians toward missions."

Now when we calmly analyze the objections to missions which are made the ground of proposing the discontinuance of the missionary enterprise in China, what do we find them to be?

1. "Lives are likely to be lost," men say. And when did that become a condemnation of a movement? Christianity began with a crucifixion and was nourished by a host of martyrdoms. It has usually been supposed that the nobility of a cause was measured by its ability to command the devotion of men even unto death. Other things are not condemned because they cost life. A great storm sweeps Galveston out of existence, and more than five thousand lives are lost —more than have been lost by missionary martyrdom since the days of the apostles. Is it proposed to abandon Galveston? Not at all. A new city is rising on the very bones of the dead. The Congo Railway in Central Africa was completed a few years ago. It was two hundred and thirty miles long. It cost $13,000,000 and four thousand men. Seventeen human lives were laid down under every mile of it. Shall men count human life cheap enough for the foundations of Texas cities and African railroads, but too dear for the kingdom of God? In these very troubles in China hundreds of soldiers' lives have been sacrificed for national honour or for trade. Why should men refuse to give life for the best end? Our fear of sacrifice of life is proper as a check upon recklessness or self-will, but pitiable as an excuse for refusing

Christ what Christ did not refuse us. Life was given us for the very purpose of being spent: not to be nursed in velvet and carried unscarred and untested out of the world, but to be used out and up for the kingdom of God. If the kingdom requires life in China, it is no new thing, and life cannot be given to any nobler end.

2. "The Chinese don't want the missionaries or the gospel." But Christ was crucified, and He knew He would be crucified when He came. He came to His own and they received Him not, and He knew they would not receive Him before He offered Himself to them. The people of our own land do not want the gospel and its preachers. They would throng the churches if they did. If it is wrong to carry it to China because it is not asked for, it is equally wrong to carry it from house to house here.

How can the Chinese be expected to want the gospel when they do not know what it is; when their contact with the West has made them think it is what it is not? The traders have not commended it to them. "The general mass of the people," said Wu Ting Fang, "receive scant courtesy at the hands of the foreigners. At the treaty ports you will often see the coolies caned and kicked without provocation. The beating of servants is also a frequent occurrence. This embitters the natives." The armies of the West have not commended the gospel to China. In the town of Tungchow alone, five hundred and seventy-three high-class Chinese women committed suicide after the armies had passed last summer, rather than survive their shame. A trail of rapine and outrage extended behind the troops from Peking to the sea. Down to this day the old Chinese families in Chefoo, in the section occupied by the French army in 1860,

will not admit a foreigner across their thresholds. That experience was enough for all time. The nations of the West have not commended the gospel to the Chinese. They have seized their territory so that the Chinese have now not one first-class harbour on their coasts in which to anchor their own fleets. They have done to China what they would not dare to do to any state capable of resisting insult. Would it be any wonder if China did not want the religion of the West? Would it not be strange if China should ever want anything from the West after such treatment? In the light of the past century and the past years, the claim that civilization and commerce should precede Christianity seems so ludicrous as to be absurd. What chance will Christianity have with such predecessors as civilization and commerce have shown themselves to be in China? The best thing for her and for them is that she should get in ahead of them.

And what evidence is there that the Chinese do not want Christianity? The statement that the missionaries smuggled their toleration clauses into the treaties is utterly false. Even in the French treaty the missionary clause, about which there has been most talk, was added, not to the French, but to the Chinese text. The political associations of missions the Chinese have dreaded and disliked, but as a religious, educational, and philanthropic enterprise, exactly what we wish it to be, the Chinese do not oppose its presence in any such way as to justify the objection that we are coercing them to receive what they do not want.

And are the people who say that missionaries ought not to be allowed to go to China because they are not wanted prepared to be consistent? The Chinese did not want opium. Were their desires gratified? They

did not want the Germans in Shantung. They did not want their ports open to trade. They did not want mines begun. They did not want to give Formosa to Japan. Were they gratified? Mr. Colquhoun's *China in Transformation,* a dignified and deliberate book, is a frank appeal for the use of authority, of force if need be, to compel China to open to Western trade. "The British merchant," he writes, "must be supported through thick and thin." But China does not want to open. It is proposed by some to curtail the rights of missionaries in China because the Chinese do not want them. But no proposal is made to exclude the American harlot who has now penetrated to Hankow, or the American saloon-keeper who is all along the coast. Are men and women to be free to flood China with the vices of the West, and Christians to be barred from carrying the virtues of the West to counteract them?

Mr. Maxim says it is violating the Golden Rule to send missionaries to China. Is it the Golden Rule which led to the fate of the Chinese women at Tungchow, or set up the American brothels on the Yangtse? The Golden Rule is not a slush of immoral sentiment. It is a principle of duty and service. It requires us to do the right thing by China. She is ignorant of her own deepest need. That need is the gospel. The spirit that would evade the duty of carrying the gospel to her, on the ground that she does not know her need of it, is the spirit of the devil and not of Christ.

3. "But missions are a disturbing force," it is said. "They destroy the old faiths of these weaker people, undermine their customs, and upset the world." But for what other purpose did Christianity come into the world? Jesus was not attempting to introduce a perfectly inefficient and impotent thing. He came to root out the evil and sin from individual hearts and to re-

make them. The first preachers of His gospel were so far from being innocuous that they were called "the men who had turned the world upside down." It is most certainly true that missions are a disturbing force. But they are not alone in this. They stir up and make peace. Trade and politics stir up and make war. All the wars which the world has waged against China were for one or both of these. Not a battle has been fought, nor, so far as I know, a gun fired during the century by any Western power for the mission work. There have been frightful massacres of missionaries, but missions did not ask for revenge, and no government thought of inflicting it. And although missionaries were included in the relief of Peking, the Western armies would never have been landed in China for them. The stinging sarcasm of "An Ichang Exile's Prayer," which never issued from any Christian heart is true enough on that point.

"Because we know not whose it next shall be
To guard his home against the howling mob,
To be the victim of their fierce attack,
And then of mild, politely-penned dispatch.
To leave his mangled carcass in the street,
With face uncovered, while the Consul sits
In some Viceregal Yamen, over tea,
Assessing the small value of the dead;
And last, because the sacredness of life
Rests on nice points of quality and clothes;
Therefore it is, oh! Lord, that now we pray,
When next the rabble moves to deeds of blood,
Let not the pillage or the slaughter be
Of Customs hireling or of merchant churl,
Or humble missionary, glad to gain
Exit from trouble to a martyr's crown,

But rather grant, when the incited mob,
Like unleashed bloodhound, seeks its nearest prey,
That it may find obtrusive on its path
Some personage important to the state,
Or high official representative,
Some travelling faddist, potent in the press,
Or information-gathering M. P.,
Some Anti-Opium League authority,
Aristocratic trotter of the Globe,
Or human atom authorized to wear
Gold lace upon the edges of his clothes,
Upon whose taking off there shall ensue
The steady tramp of solid infantry
And inexpensive Chinese funerals;
That, with the thunder of artillery,
And sack of goodly cities, there may be
Restored again that wholesome deference,
That usual and necessary respect
Which, from the Asiatic, is our due—
And thus, from evil, shall arise great good."

Missions have been charged with arousing the people and creating disturbance, and all the world has listened to this charge; but how many have heard of the riot in Canton which followed the murder of the Chinese boy by Logan, which threatened to destroy the whole foreign community? And who knows of the fury aroused in Chinkiang by the Hindu policeman? All the missionaries in Canton and Chinkiang, from the opening of mission work until the present time, have not created as much disturbance as drunken Logan and the hotheaded Sikh, whom the British Government stood ready to protect to the uttermost from the consequences of their acts.

No one is asking that missions should be propagated

by force, or that armies should descend on China to avenge the martyrs of Christ. It is not the business of government to carry on a propaganda of religion. It is its business to see that there shall be no propaganda of arson and assassination. And it is the business of all honest-minded men to make themselves acquainted with facts and to read the plainest lesson of the century in China, that missions have been the one conciliatory influence from the West at work in China, disturbing things, of course, but winning friends, setting up harmonious relations and good understanding, and persuading China toward the things best for herself and best for the world. On the other hand, our trade and our politics have been irritating and disturbing without the counter-check of gentleness, of personal friendship, of sympathetic knowledge and understanding. They have been the real disturbing forces and their disturbance has resulted in the Arrow and Opium wars, in the war in Tongking, and in the Boxer patriotic uprising. Whoever will look into the facts will have to admit this.

If missions are to be barred out of China because they are a disturbing force, on what ground are the revolutionary and detested forces of trade and politics to be admitted to China? If missions are to be perfectly ineffective and puerile, who will want to carry them to any place? Is Christianity tolerable only when it accomplishes nothing, when it disturbs no sin, no vice, no evil, and introduces no virile, uplifting power of good and transformation? Christ sent it into the world to purify and redeem. And that is what it has been doing in China with an increasing adaptiveness and application to the Chinese mind, and what it will continue to do, with enlarging power among the Chinese people if it can keep itself disentangled from the

injustice and cruelty and greed and secularism of the West.

And what a beautiful somersault the foes of missions have taken in pressing this objection! A few years ago missions in China were beneath contempt, the missionary was accomplishing nothing. He had not made the slightest impression on China. Now he is held up before the world as the monster who caused all the trouble, and is an object of reprobation, not for his incapacity, but for his capacity. Which horn of the dilemma will the critics take? If they were right a few years ago, the missionary cannot be responsible for these troubles. If they are right now, the missionary cannot be the helpless, incompetent creature, incapable of accomplishing results, which he was then represented to be.

4. "Leave these miserable heathen to themselves," some urge, to cite but one other objection. "They are not worthy of being saved." "If there is a hell," one man remarked, "let the Chinese go to it. It is just the place they deserve." As we think over the roll of the martyrs, and imagination pictures the sufferings and indignities of mothers and little children, it is hard not to feel a momentary sympathy with the spirit of just indignation which sternly condemns the wickedness and cruelty of the Chinese. But have they shown themselves any less worthy of the grace of God than the people to whom Jesus came and who crucified Him in shame? Consider the spirit of Christ. "Father, forgive them," He prayed, "they know not what they do." And consider the provocation of the Chinese. Of course they have done wrong. But they have suffered wrong, wrong upon wrong. Those women who committed suicide at Tungchow to escape their shame out-

numbered four to one all the Protestant missionaries murdered through the empire during the troubles. When has China met through the years just and honourable and considerate treatment from the West? Men may ask, "When has she given it to others?" But that is not an answer. Injustice and dishonour do not give warrant of retaliation in kind. Poor China knew no better. The fact that she knows no better than not to want Christianity is made a reason for withholding it; but the fact that she knew no better that not to want any intercourse with the West was not considered sufficient reason for the West's humouring her intolerable whim. But it was not necessary to deal with her as we have done, and, hating its crimes, we cannot deny to the Boxer movement the character of a patriotic impulse, misguided, but noble nevertheless. It is not worthy to have driven China by gross injustice to madness, and then to make the consequence of our acts excuse for abandoning her to her own helplessness and insanity. We are under more, not less, obligation to give Christianity to China because of the sorrows of the past; our sorrows and the sorrows of China.

In these last troubles there were no reasons for abandoning the work of missions in China. The whole affair has but shown the power of missions, the need of missions, and the divine place of missions, as the one force that is properly destructive only of evil, and constructive only of good. Every native Christian who has suffered for Christ, and every pang of anguish of our martyrs in their death, is a protest against the suggestion that we should stop now and withdraw, is an appeal to our faithfulness and devotion. Instead of shutting the doors to either the country or the people's hearts, these troubles opened them wider than ever.

The war has left bitterness behind it, and ill-advised plans may easily attach this to the mission cause. But God, who has allowed the horrors of the struggle, will not allow them to fail of bringing forth His result; and that result, if we are true and of fearless hearts, scorning to use petty pretexts for the evasion of duty, will be the mighty spread of the gospel among a mighty and noble people.

XVI

HAS MISSIONARY WORK IN CHINA BEEN WORTH WHILE?

IT is admitted that the missionaries report many conversions. Not to speak of the Roman Catholic Christians, the communicants in Protestant churches in China now exceed one hundred thousand. And the growth has been very rapid. In 1876, there were thirteen thousand; in 1886, twenty-eight thousand; in 1896, seventy thousand. By 1906 there will doubtless be more than double seventy thousand. But what kind of Christians are they? Is it not likely that they are merely "rice Christians"? That question was more common three years ago than now. As a missionary wrote from Shanghai during the last disturbances, "How sad all this is! Yet its bright side is the firmness of the Christians, and their joy, some of them, in being counted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ. The secular dailies here have printed one or two statements of the firmness of converts even to death that sounds the knell of all talk of rice Christians." It was silly talk before. No one ever suspected the Chinese Christians,—while making full allowance for a somewhat smaller proportion of hypocrites and formalists than would be found in the Christian Church in America,—who knew anything of what they had to face in confessing Christ. In the mere matter of their renunciation of the idolatrous rites connected with ancestral worship, they have let go of what Dyer Ball says "scarcely anything short of the miraculous" can force a Chinese to give up.

Scarcely any tests of Christian faith and life are

met by home Christians which are not exceeded in severity by the trials Chinese Christians are meeting constantly with joy. I met in Lien Chow, several years ago, a Christian who had been with the Rev. W. H. Lingle in a persecution in Hunan, when he was arrested, and threatened with the loss of his inheritance unless he would abjure Christianity. This he refused to do, and was firm, though he was forced to sign away his property, and was nearly sawn asunder. And thousands are meeting the far severer test of the duty of a quiet, godly life. The general judgment of the missionaries seems to me to be temperate and just, that in zeal and in sincerity the native Christians are not behind, and may even claim a place in advance of Christians at home. "Few as they may be when all told," says that sharp critic, Mr. Michie, in *Missionaries in China,* "and mixed as they must be with spurious professors, it is a gratifying fact, which cannot be gainsaid, that Christians of the truest type,—men ready to burn as martyrs, which is easy,—and who lead 'helpful and honest' lives, which is as hard as the ascent from Avernus, crown the labours of missionaries, and have done so from the very beginning. It is thus shown that the Christian religion is not essentially unadapted to China, and that the Chinese character is susceptible to its regenerating power."

Times of trial like the recent uprising develop these qualities of fidelity. Thus a woman missionary wrote from Soochow: "There is much fear among the Christians generally, but so far the little flock here have shown a faith in God that makes me realize once more the power of the religion of Christ over the minds of men. When an old woman, but a little over a year ago a heathen, tells me that it is not needful

to fear, but only to believe in the Father in heaven, and then goes on with her every-day life, although bad men have stood in her doorway, and threatened to burn and kill, I know she has something in her heart which keeps her quiet and at peace." But in the common and quiet days of missionary life such courage is constantly required of the Chinese Christians, and is as constantly displayed. When Dr. Davis, of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Soochow, was negotiating for the land on which the Mission's hospital is built, a native preacher, named Liu, "offered his services to act as native 'middleman' in the purchase. The local magistrate was bitterly opposed to the foreigners' acquiring property, and in a similar transaction, some years ago, he revenged himself on the native who took part in it by arresting him on some false charge, and throwing him into prison, where he lay for several years. This was the probable fate of Mr. Liu. But he did not hesitate on that account. He went out and found an old man, and initiated him into the care of his home, so that the old man could manage things for him during the indefinite time that he expected to lie in prison."

The missionaries in China are doing this good thing: they are creating character in thousands of men and women who have been lifted, by faith in Christ, out of weak, sinful lives into lives of uprightness and power. "I can witness," says Dr. Corbett of Chefoo, whose testimony is worth more than that of all the globe-trotters in the world, "in behalf of hundreds, to their childlike faith in the power and willingness of God to fulfil every promise in the Bible; to their unshaken faith in the efficacy of prayer, their love of the Scriptures, and their honest and faithful effort to live blameless lives."

This is sufficient to justify the work of missionaries in China. Each saved life is in itself adequate vindication of the missionary movement. After Miss Singh, a converted Hindu woman, had spoken at the Ecumenical Conference, President Harrison rose to speak, and began by saying, "If I had had a million dollars, and had invested it all in missions, and this was the only result, I should not want my money back." And there are hundreds of men and women in China whose ennobled lives would be return for all the expenditure on missions in China from the days of Robert Morrison.

But great as these results are, they are but a part of the good the missionaries have been doing in China. As Li Hung Chang said in New York, when he was here in 1896, in an address to the representatives of the missionary societies: "As for intellect, you have started numerous educational establishments which have served as the best means to enable our countrymen to acquire a fair knowledge of the modern arts and sciences of the West. As for the material part of our constitution, your societies have started hospitals and dispensaries to save, not only the souls, but also the bodies, of our countrymen. I have also to add that, in the time of famine in some of the provinces, you have done your best to the greatest number of the sufferers to keep their bodies and souls together."

Very few people in the West know of the vast work the missionaries have done in education. In 1896, the Protestant missions reported 972 primary schools, 114 secondary schools, and 46 colleges and training-schools, with a total of 21,353 pupils. These figures have greatly increased since. These schools have been the only schools for girls, and the best

schools for young men, in China. The missionaries at work in them have produced the educational literature for the whole of China. Let any one who has been disposed to depreciate missions examine the catalogue of educational publications of the great Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai, and he will open his eyes in astonishment. There could scarcely be any true education in China if it were not for the missionaries; and when, in 1898, the favourable attitude of the Emperor encouraged Western learning, and schools were opened all over the empire, the Chinese at once turned to the missionaries for help, while the Press in Shanghai was not able to meet the demand for its publications. And it is not in Western learning only that the missionaries have benefited China. They have taught many Chinese their own language and literature. As one of the best educated Chinese preachers, Mr. Yen, said at Shanghai, in 1890, "As the Chinese are more ungrammatical speakers of their own language than the average Western missionary, so are they worse teachers of it than the latter."

The medical work, which Li Hung Chang also praised, and in which he showed himself a firm believer when he erected a hospital at Tientsin for John Kenneth Mackenzie, is scarcely less extensive than the educational. In 1896, there were, in connection with the Protestant missions, seventy-one hospitals and a hundred and eleven dispensaries, with more than half a million visits of patients reported. And this work in spite of all the slanders which have attacked it,—such as that the doctors used babies' eyes, and were guilty of nameless enormities,—the Chinese have appreciated, as the way they crowd the hospitals and dispensaries indicates. The *North China Daily News*

in July, 1900, said of Manchuria, "For years past foreigners travelling in the interior have only had to name the hospital to find a warm reception from the people. They might know little about the missionary's creed, and might care less, but over the philanthropic work of the hospitals they waxed eloquent. They have taken advantage of them at the rate of hundreds every day; they have subscribed liberally to their support; they have erected memorial tablets in their praise; and they mourn with the missionaries over the ruined hospitals to-day."

And the immense work of relief done by the missionaries, often at the cost of life in times of famine, Chinese officials and Western consuls have unstintedly praised. When Albert Whiting died in Shansi, a victim of famine fever, in 1878, the governor of the province offered to pay the expense of sending his body to America, and, when that was declined, met the expense of the burial and provided the place, while some who could not be restrained knelt down to worship at the martyr's grave. At the close of the famine of 1878, the Tsung li Yamen officially thanked the missionary societies, and Mr. Walter C. Hillier, of the British consular service, spoke thus of the missionaries who had engaged in the work of relief:

"Lives which bear every mark of transparent simplicity and truthfulness, that will stand the test of the severest scrutiny, must in the end have their due effect. It seems presumptuous to offer a tribute of praise to men whose literal interpretation of the calls of duty have placed them almost beyond the reach of popular commendation, but perhaps I may be allowed to say that any one who has seen the lives that these men are leading cannot fail to feel proud of being able to claim them as countrymen of his own."

I shall add, out of many, one other testimony of a member of the British civil service, J. Dyer Ball, Esq., of Hong Kong:

"Had Protestant missionaries done nothing else in China than prepare and publish the books issued by them in Chinese; start the schools; written the books in English, containing narratives of their own travels, and accounts of the natives, and of their religious customs and manners; translated native works; instructed the youth of both sexes, and founded hospitals and dispensaries,—had these, we say, been the only things accomplished by Protestant missionaries, they would have done a noble work; but added to all these more secular labours is the directly religious work of preaching the gospel, tract and Bible distribution, visiting, gathering together the converts, etc., all of which, though less appreciated by the general mercantile community of China, has been as signally sucessful as the other class of undertakings."

Some people may ask why, if missions are doing so much, they share in the anti-foreign dislike of the Chinese. In one sense their very success displeases some. It displeases the *literati,* whose whole capital consists of their Confucian education,—an education which civilization and progress will render worthless. It displeases others also. As C. T. Gardner, Esq., for many years in the British service, and at the time of the publication of his pamphlet, *The Missionary Question in China,* Consul-General in Seoul, wrote: "Another cause of dislike is jealousy. The Christian education of the children of converts undoubtedly produces greater intelligence and a higher moral tone than the Chinese non-Christian education. The consequence is that Christian Chinese are now obtaining a success in life far greater than the non-Christians of

the same class. There is hardly a high official in the empire who has not one or two Christians in his employ as confidential servants. . . . This cause of dislike can only be diminished by improving the education of non-Christian Chinese."

And the missionaries are eager to give to all what has proved of such value to some. They work in the hope of the enlightenment of all China. As the London *Times* declares:

"The good effected by missionaries is by no means to be measured by a list of conversions. They are the true pioneers of civilization. It is to them we have to look to carry the reputation of foreigners into the heart of the country; and it is on their wisdom, justice, and power of sympathy, that the Renaissance of China very largely depends."

It is no easy work which is thus laid on the missionaries, but they are discharging it. As Colonel Denby once told a reporter:

"The missionaries are scattered all over China. Wherever they have gone civilization has found a footing. They are teaching the people of China to read and write; they are teaching the women to sew and the men to saw. Their influence is spreading all the time. Remember that a merchant cannot go to the interior of China. He can establish himself in one of the thirty-five treaty ports, and buy property, but his business in the interior must be done through native merchants. Our knowledge of China is confined largely to the coast, though we know something of the interior from travellers; but the missionary goes everywhere."

And the civilization which profits by the missionaries' work seldom thinks of the cost of it. Mr. Michie says:

"Those who have no experience of the deadening contact of masses of the poorer Chinese, whose ideas, when they have any, run in opposite directions to ours, whose horizon is limited by their neighbour's rice field, and whose chronology is marked by recurring famines, can scarcely conceive the sacrifice which is made of cultured men and women in consigning them to a long life amid such depressing surroundings. And it lends emphasis to the sacrifice, in common estimation, to consider that in numerous instances the exile has divested himself of wealth and social position, as well as other ingredients which the world deems most necessary to the cup of happiness. The physical discomforts, fatigues, and privations incidental to a missionary career, appear to be the least part of what has to be endured in the interior of China; and it is indeed wonderful that so many of the missionaries come through the ordeal with seemingly unimpaired intellectual vitality, and with the moral sense so little blunted."

The object lesson of such uncomplaining heroism —heroism which only too often ends in wrecked health and broken spirit—is a good to the Church at home, from the work of missionaries in China.

As part of their work, the missionaries have fought the opium curse. Li Hung Chang praises them for that:

"The opium-smoking, being a great curse to the Chinese population, your societies have tried your best, not only as anti-opium societies, but to afford the best means to stop the craving for the opium; and also you receive none as your converts who are opium-smokers."

They have condemned foot-binding, and succeeded in creating sentiment against it. They have made it

possible for the blind of China to read, and have established the only schools for deaf and dumb, and the only asylum for the insane. They have refuges for lepers, homes for orphans, and they rescue blind girls from their natural destiny in houses of shame.

How deeply the mission work has sunk its roots in China, and how powerful and pervading is its influence, a thousand little things show, and now and then a great thing like the Reform Movement of 1898. Let any one learn the inner story of that remarkable movement, which was in no small measure a result of missions, and think of what it was ready and eager to do for China peaceably, and then meditate upon the trail of war from Tientsin to Peking, the smoking cities, the slaughtered men, the jealousy and friction of the Powers, the dim prospect of distant order and harmonious intercourse, tinged with the inevitably bitter memories of this needless struggle,—needless, for it has come because the West turned away from the most hopeful opportunity ever presented in China, —and he will gain new respect for the work of missions and for the missionary method of reforming states.

"Are the missionaries doing any good in China?" Is there any other certain way of doing China good? "Previous to experience," says one who knows the Chinese perhaps as well as any Western man has ever known them, the Rev. Arthur H. Smith, D.D., "it would have seemed tolerably safe to predict that it would be easier to modify the social condition of a non-Christian community than to modify its religious condition. But, as the result of experience, it appears that it is easier to introduce Christianity than to alter the type of the current civilization,

and that the only permanently successful way to alter that civilization is first to introduce Christianity, after which, little by little, 'all these things shall be added unto you.'"

XVII

MINISTER WU'S CONFUCIAN PROPAGANDA*

HIS Excellency, Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese Minister to the United States, has rendered a real service in some of the addresses he has made to the American people. In his speech before the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia on Nov. 19, 1900, repeated in substance before the Outlook Club in Montclair on Dec. 28, 1900, he set forth a just and temperate account of the causes of the last troubles in China and of anti-foreign feeling there, that is, as just an account as could reasonably be expected from a Chinese, especially one whose duty it was to defend his country. Not content with such political addresses, Dr. Wu ventured further in an address before the Ethical Culture Society in New York, and attempted to prove the superiority of Confucianism and Confucian institutions over Christianity and Christian institutions. We must believe that here, too, he has rendered a great service, though not, perhaps, of the kind he intended. He has drawn some sharp distinctions between Confucianism and Christianity. There has been danger that these would be lost sight of. The temper of our day has been to slur over such distinctions, to hold that these systems are not radically different, that Christianity has nothing so new or different to give as to justify our sending missionaries to China. The Chinese Minister says that there are great and radical differences, that Christi-

* The quotations from Minister Wu's speeches are taken from the New York *Sun*, with the exception of the quotation from the Pittsburg address.

anity is a religion, and Confucianism is not; that Christianity is affirmative, and Confucianism agnostic; that Christianity regards man as an immortal soul, and Confucianism regards him as a "social institution;" that Christianity speaks of a world above this and a world after it, and Confucianism knows neither. Christian missions and Christianity everywhere have been anxious that these lines of cleavage should not be obscured. Wu Ting Fang has rendered a great service in sharply defining them.

Doubtless it has been a great surprise to many that His Excellency should so clearly perceive the difference between Confucianism and Christianity and yet prefer Confucianism, as he declares he deliberately does. In a speech to the Lotus Club on Dec. 15, 1900, he said: "From my boyhood I have been taught and I have learned in the classics of Confucius that the words we speak should be sincere." We must believe that he is sincere in that preference, but granting that he is, we have a fresh and discouraging evidence of the tenacity and permanence of Chinese character. If Minister Wu, with all his advantages of study and comparison, still conscientiously prefers the civilization and morality of Confucianism, what hope is there for his country, whose hundreds of thousands of mandarins have no acquaintance whatever with un-Confucian ideas and institutions?

As to whether it was courteous for the Chinese Minister to depreciate the Christian religion, which he certainly did, whatever his subsequent disavowals, it is needless to enter into discussion. An American Minister in Constantinople would scarcely have spoken so of Mohammedanism in contrast with Christianity, or in St. Petersburg, of the Greek Church in contrast with Protestantism.

As to the substance of Minister Wu's address before the Ethical Culture Society, of which we have been speaking, instead of angering Christians it should only make them sad. It would seem that the Chinese Minister has known few of them, and none of the sort many of us know, who truly love their enemies and seek not their own will; and the revelation of what he does not know of Christianity is equalled by his revelation of what he does know of Confucianism. On that side his address might be issued almost as a missionary tract. If this is what Minister Wu has found Confucianism to be, then it is just the sort of thing that Christians are called to replace with Christianity.

For His Excellency has demonstrated that all the teaching of Confucius about sincerity has left the Chinese people radically insincere. Indeed, Confucius himself broke an oath, practised deception and praised it in Mang Che-fan, and though the classics have always exalted sincerity, there is no more vivid characteristic of the Chinese Government than deceitfulness, or of the Confucian-trained man than a certain strain of unreality and disingenuousness. Dr. Wu openly describes this trait of the Chinese with apparent unconsciousness of how it appears to the Western mind. Though holding the Confucian view, he says: "The Chinese are always a practical people, and as we are not sure what religion is exactly right, we employ representatives of all sorts, so that if one does not do the thing (*i.e.*, secure happiness and peace for the future life) the other will." This is a correct representation of Chinese custom, and it involves a notion of sincerity totally different from ours. For the true Confucianist, as Dr. Wu points out, must regard these religions, Buddhism and Taoism, as su-

perstitions; and yet he resorts to them. Resorting to a religion in which a man does not believe, we call not sincerity but hypocrisy. It is part of the naïve disingenuousness of Confucianism that it does not feel this in the least.

This unreality marks all Chinese institutions. It is a land of formalism and ritualism gone to seed, the forms and rites covering little or no reality. The theatricalism of the Government, the stilted untruthfulness of the *Imperial Gazette,* the rotten insincerity of the whole Chinese system, go on unperceived apparently by the people, who have kept up the show for so many centuries that it has ceased almost to be a show to them, and they have become sincerely insincere.

Nothing else than this could have been expected of Confucianism. It was pure externalism and never contained the sanctions that could save propriety from sinking into hollow mummery. As Dr. Wu said: "It is not really a religion in the strictest sense of the word;" and then he ventured into a pitiful definition of religion that reveals exactly the spirit and influence of Confucianism. "Religion," he says, "tends to bring a man back from error by holding out the prospect of everlasting punishment for wickedness, and everlasting happiness for the good." And Minister Wu condemns this conception and approves of Confucianism because it does not contain it. "Confucianism is not as fascinating as some other doctrines, because it is lacking in that element of a promised reward." It is true that the consistent Confucianists have not cherished the idea of rewards and punishments in a future life, but the consistent Confucianist in this regard is hard to find. And as for this present life, Confucianism has been reduced to a matter of rewards, and only those study Confucius who are

seeking rewards. With no rewards, a motive Dr. Wu despises, who would take the Confucian examinations in China? In Korea, when the rewards stopped the examinations died. And Chang Chih Tung asks in *China's Only Hope:* "Suppose schools were established and there was no official power whatever which would confer rank on the graduates or grant their stipends; with no hope of rank or stipend, who would enter any institution established on this basis?" Is Dr. Wu altogether accurate in representing Confucianism as a system of purer and more selfless motives than prevail in Christianity? It is the very mercenariness, the self-centredness of Confucianism which determines his view of religion. A matter of rewards and punishments! "By religion," said Cardinal Newman, "I mean the knowledge of God, of His will, and of our duties toward Him." But Confucianism does not know, and Minister Wu has not learned from it, of such a religion of fellowship with a good and loving God. The squalour and poverty of his notion of religion is a revelation of the impotence and emptiness of Confucianism.

Indeed, he frankly calls Confucianism agnosticism, and suggests that the world is drifting to it. But the absolute immobility of Confucianism would cut it off from any relationship to our Western agnosticism, whose evolutionary principles are the very antipodes of the stagnant spirit of Confucius. Nevertheless, it is agnosticism, a materialistic agnosticism, knowing neither spirit nor faith. Dr. Wu quotes the familiar passage from the *Analects:* "Kee Leo asked about serving the spirits of the dead, and the master said, 'While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?' The disciple added, 'I venture to ask about death,' and he was answered, 'While you

do not know life, how can you know about death?'" But Confucius was not a sincere agnostic. "He sacrificed to the dead as if they were present," we are told in the *Analects;* "he sacrificed to the spirits as if the spirits were present." And the insincerity of Confucius is, as Dr. Wu has confessed, the insincerity of all Confucianists. They are agnostic in their philosophy, and the most fearful spirit worshippers in actual life. They have never satisfied themselves in Confucianism. Their architecture is a confession of their inability to be agnostics. In life and in death they preserve still the elementary beliefs that preceded Confucianism, that he did not dare to deny in his teaching, and that survive in undiminished power to this day. The acceptance by the closest advisers of the Empress, the most orthodox Confucianists in China, of the claim of the Boxers, who also were good though ignorant Confucianists, to the possession of supernatural powers, was but one out of a million evidences of the irrepressible religiousness of the human spirit, even in China. Confucianism is agnostic, but the Chinese are gnostics. They are Confucian through and through in their self-complacency, their *opera bouffe* dignity, their external propriety, and they are not Confucianists at all in their childish beliefs in a world of spirits, a heaven and earth full of beings in which they believe the more because they know nothing about them. Even the Chinese heart, which has been fed for twenty-five hundred years on agnostic husks, has not been able to live on them.

Moreover, as Confucianism supplies the Chinese with their ethics and as Confucianism is agnostic, however superstition may have met the cravings of their hearts, the people are without any adequate basis for their morality. It is devoid of sanctions. It is a

system of external behaviour resting on a basis of pure naturalism. Man is, as Dr. Wu pointed out, a "social institution," not a moral personality. It would be foolish to hold that a system of ethics cannot be grounded in human relations, such as the five relations of Confucius, sovereign and subject, parent and child, elder and younger brother, husband and wife, friend and friend. The Chinese society has rested for two millenniums on such a ground, and if undisturbed from without would have continued for centuries. But this is not a sufficient ground, and "the full strength of ethics is not discerned until the very principle of duty itself is felt to be grounded in the eternal reality of the holy and gracious God." The Christian contention is that naturalistic ethics are not practicable. They will answer for certain purposes and in certain limits, but there is no regenerating power in them, and they will not preserve all human interests, not to speak of divine.

And this introduces us to Minister Wu's dominant contention. He holds precisely the opposite view, that Christianity is impracticable and Confucianism practicable. He declared the Christian standards "too high for frail humanity," and added: "The hold that Confucianism has on China is due to its practicability. Confucius himself stood as an example of what he desired man should try to be." This view is itself thoroughly Confucian. The first question it raises is the question not of right but of practicability. Confucianism says, That is right which is practicable. Christianity says, That is practicable which is right. What is the end of the Confucian view? Sheer lawlessness. "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven, is perfect," says Christ. "Be as perfect as is practicable," says Confucianism, acording to Dr.

Wu. That is equivalent to saying, "Do as you please." All absolute standards go. The reign of personal caprice sets in. Practicability as the determining element in ethics lands us in chaos. In appealing to it, as between Christianity and Confucianism, the Chinese Minister sets up a standard which Confucius himself did not warrant. With all his defects, he was too worthy to relinquish in this way absolute measurements and judgments.

And on his own ground, as he has chosen it, we may not hesitate to meet His Excellency. Are the ideals of Confucianism better than the ideals of Christianity? It recognizes no relation to a living God. It relegates all contact with heaven to an annual act of the Emperor. It ignores the plainest facts of moral character. It has no serious idea of life and no deeper insight at all. "The Chinaman is mentally colour-blind to the spiritual in all forms." It cannot explain death. It holds truth of light account. It presupposes and tolerates polygamy and sanctions polytheism. It confounds ethics with external ceremonies and reduces social life to tyranny. It rises at the highest no higher than the worship of genius, the deification of man. It speaks no word of fellowship or progress, ignores the deepest cravings of the human spirit, and in one of its most famous utterances, the *Sacred Edict* of Kang-hsi, sneers at Buddhism because, passing by the mere externalism of life, it concerns itself "simply with the heart." Instead of being practicable, its ideals of sagely perfection and of proper conduct are utterly unreal and impossible. The touch of actuality and human movement is crumbling them into burlesques before our eyes.

We can challenge Minister Wu to compare the attainments of the Confucian ideals by the Chinese with

our attainment of the Christian ideals. He points to Confucius as one who was "an example of what he desired man should try to be." This was not Confucius's view of himself. "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men," he says in the *Analects;* "but the character of the superior man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained to." And again: "In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I as yet attained. To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me; to this I have not attained. To serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me; to this I have not attained. To serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me; to this I have not attained. To set the example in behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me; to this I have not attained." Confucius himself appears to have found his system not altogether practicable. If the master fails, what shall the disciple do? Christ exemplified His doctrine in His own life.

And the Chinese people have not found Confucianism practicable. "I do not claim, of course," said Dr. Wu at Pittsburg on Nov. 1, 1900, "that the Chinese, as a people, always live up to this high standard of morality. They are only human, and sometimes allow themselves to be carried away by their passions to fearful excesses." The high maxims of Confucius have never redeemed the life of the Chinese. There is more gambling, poverty, disorder and vice in China than in any other country in the world. And though Confucius in the *Doctrine of the Mean* inculcated "indulgent treatment of men from a distance," China has been the most bitterly anti-foreign land in the world, and those Chinese have been most bigoted and

cruel and merciless who were most devoted to Confucius. Indisputable evidence has brought the responsibility for the riots, outrages and assaults against foreigners home to the door of the *literati,* while Sir Robert Hart simply states a notorious fact in calling the Boxer movement "the product of official inspiration," that is, Confucian inspiration. Minister Wu justly bewails the fate of his country, and looks with honest horror on the outrages of Western troops in Northern China. We sympathize with his abhorrence. But the outrages they committed all Christendom condemns and no Christian participates in them. The outrages the Boxes committed Confucianism applauded and its leaders instigated and abetted.

Minister Wu selects the saying of Christ, "Love thine enemies," proclaims it "too high for frail humanity," points out "the vast gulf between profession and practice" among Christians in the matter of forgiveness and revenge, and contrasts the teaching of Confucius, "Requite kindness with kindness and injustice with justice." But this is precisely where Confucianism has failed and Christianity succeeded. The Chinese cherish on Confucius's authority the right of blood revenge. Sir John Davis and Legge have both called attention to this as one of the objectionable principles of Confucius. The disciple Tsze-hea asked him: "What course is to be pursued in the case of the murder of a father or mother?" He replied: "The son must sleep upon a matting of grass, with his shield for his pillow, he must decline to take office; he must not live under the same heaven with the slayer. When he meets him in the market place or in the court, he must have his weapon ready to strike him." With all our shortcomings, Christians by the thousand have learned to forgive and to love their enemies.

And even if our ideals are above us still, as they are, this but proves that they are worthy ideals. When we attain them we shall need new ones farther on. Ideals that are on a level with men's lusts are no ideals at all. Ideals that are not above us are beneath our contempt. And though there is a gulf between Christian teaching and Christian practice, it is a narrowing gulf, while the chasm between Confucian teaching and Confucian practice is a widening chasm. We slip and fall, but Christianity has in it the power of self-purification, and it recovers itself and climbs on again. But Confucianism is dead. Minister Wu says it is alive. Yet it is slowly fading out of Japan and Korea, and while its naturalism and agnosticism will continue as they have ever been in the world, what was distinctive in it will lose its hold and drop back into that great tomb in which for centuries the Chinese people have been content to live.

For there is something better for them than Confucianism. We cannot believe that His Excellency was quite sincere when he said: "I tell you Confucianism is the highest form of civilization and morality." Von Mollendorf, in *The Family Law of the Chinese,* says: "The *patria potestas* over children, whether legitimate or adopted, is unlimited. The father (or after his death the mother) can do with them as he likes; he may not only chastise, but even sell, expose or kill them if he likes. The latter occurs often enough, especially with girls, if the family is too poor to bring them up." Minister Wu knows doubtless of many baby markets where such children are sold for a few cents. The legislation of any land with reference to the child is a good test of its civilization and morality. The land with least human pity, without an asylum for the insane, with hospitals for dogs

and cows and donkeys but none for men, with no prisons of reform, no institutions for the blind, save brothels for little blind girls, a tarn of polygamy in its imperial palace, with its best educated and most patriotic class, according to Leroy Beaulieu and every other observer, "the most obstinately retrogressive;" a land, as Chang Chih Tung says, "almost irreclaimably stupid and not awake," whose women are without rights and whose rulers—let us make honourable exceptions—without righteousness; which murders its reformers and whose intellectual life ceased centuries ago and knows neither a divine spirit nor a human soul—is this the land which displays the highest form of civilization and morality?

It is a form of civilization and morality. It has lasted many centuries, but it has broken down at last. And the moment at which it has demonstrated its political puerility and witnessed a mighty holocaust of Christian martyrs slaughtered in its name was scarcely the propitious moment for the official representative of the Chinese Government to undertake its propagation in America. The last thing any Christian desires to do, however, is to speak unkindly either of Minister Wu or of his great people. We only marvel that he is able to deceive himself with the thought that any people can have a true and worthy life with a philosophy materialistic toward this present life and agnostic toward the life to come. No nation has ever lived nobly on that philosophy. No nation ever can. China will discover this, and Minister Wu will do a real man's work in the world and serve China better by trying to lead his countrymen toward the day than by preaching here Confucius's sterile and pompous gospel of ignorance and night.

And I venture to wonder whether it is not fair to

ask, Which Wu Ting Fang is right, the Wu Ting Fang now preaching Confucianism in America or the same Wu Ting Fang when years ago he was baptized as a Christian believer in Hong Kong?

XVIII

A ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW OF MISSIONS IN CHINA

THE missions of the Roman Catholic Church in heathen lands are more or less shrouded in mystery. It is difficult to get full and reliable reports of the number of missionaries, of the number of converts and native workers, and of the work itself. It is easier to obtain such information, to the extent to which it is obtainable, in other languages than English. There are enlightening accounts of the travels of Catholic missionaries, like Abbe Huc's books, and some invaluable records of missionary devotion and success, like Father Wallay's history of the "Missions Étrangères," but little is obtainable in English descriptive of the present extent and methods of Catholic missionary work. And the traveller in Asia, at least, who tries to inform himself of the character and plans of the work, while meeting sometimes those who will lay it bare before him frankly, especially if he can speak French or can appear as a Catholic sympathizer, will still often meet with a secretiveness which makes him anxious for fuller and more specific knowledge.

Another China, described as "Notes on the Celestial Empire as Viewed by a Catholic Bishop," meets such a want as this. Monseigneur Reynaud, its author, is vicar apostolic of the district of Che-Kiang, with residence at Ningpo, and though his notes were written in French they have been translated and published in English by a Catholic hand, with some free adaptation, it is charged by some, to English minds. Monseigneur

Reynaud's view of the Chinese, his account of the Catholic missionaries and their work, and his opinion of the work of the Protestant missionaries, are all of the greatest interest.

It is a very kindly and charitable view of Chinese character which appears in this book. The Chinese are spoken of as "those generous and upright beings who, led away by error, are yet sighing for happiness." If it is characteristic of the Catholic missionaries, it does them credit. Monseigneur Reynaud points out the significance of the fact that the Chinese language is such a rich language in moral maxims, and that while the life of the people is quite inconsistent with the ethics of their maxims, there is yet in the latter a real preparation for the teaching of Christianity. There have been those who regarded the language and these beautiful sayings as the very inventions of the devil to obstruct the acceptance of the gospel. But the Bishop says:

"The daily language of the Chinese is full of proverbial sayings, which are in constant use among them, praising virtue and condemning vice. Some of them point out the vanity of worldly honours, the contempt of riches, the avoidance of pleasures that entail so much misery, the horror of injustice, the effects of anger and impatience, the folly of pride, the iniquity of slander, the shortness of life, and so on. Others inculcate love of virtue, practice of good works, esteem of wisdom, patience in troubles, forgetfulness of injuries, fidelity, gratitude, humility, and good example. The proverbs having reference to charity are particularly expressive and beautiful, and it is to be desired that our missionaries should make great use in their sermons and instructions of these axioms, in which

may be heard distant echoes of passages in the gospel. . . . The language of an entire race cannot be one universal falsehood, and these moral notions, so often repeated, must be esteemed by individuals even if they do not always follow them; and such clear ideas of good and evil can surely be no obstacle to their conversion."

Of the people Monseigneur Reynaud uses such adjectives as intelligent, skilful, sober, hard-working, patient, persevering, enduring, very subtle, keen, prompt, precocious, artistic, expert in farming, simple, practical, frugal, thrifty; but he must speak also of their "incredible ingenuity at deception. Calm and good-tempered, when not roused to fury or panic, the Chinese take everything as it comes; and men as they are, and actuated by their philosophy of practical common sense, they are not disposed to be ruffled by disappointments. This apparent apathy concealing powers of much passive resistance, renders the Chinese dangerous sophists, for possessing full control of their feelings, they are not carried away by heat of discussion; they avoid all weak points in their arguments, and discuss the most burning topics with a blandness and subtle irony peculiar to themselves. According to the Chinese, well-bred people, if they do disagree, should explain themselves calmly and politely, while invective and threats (at which, however, the Celestials can be great adepts), are considered to indicate want of dignity and strength of mind, besides being a sure sign of defeat."

National spirit, Bishop Reynaud thinks, as understood by the Chinese, exists chiefly among the literati, while "among the common people no thought is given

to patriotism," and though possessing a certain degree of courage, it seems to be more negative than active. Of the position of women in China, he says:

"The Chinese have the utmost respect for the proprieties of social intercourse, in which great reserve is maintained between men and women. It is really surprising to see such strictness and decorum, and absence of familiarity in the manners of a heathen nation. The women are remarkably modest in all their actions; they rarely speak to the men, and are satisfied with the society of people of their own sex, even when there are family gatherings; and, as it has already been observed, the Chinese are scandalized by the very different manners of the Europeans, which, in their eyes, appear to be exceedingly frivolous and indecorous."

At the same time "Protestant evidence, but none the less valuable on that account," is cited to the effect that—

"The state of degradation to which heathenism has brought the women and girls of China is truly pitiable. The higher classes are secluded in their own homes, just as in India, and spend miserable, aimless lives, almost their only occupation being smoking, drinking tea, and embroidering tiny shoes for their poor crippled feet. You rarely find one among them who can read, or is in any way educated."

Of the mandarins and literati, Monseigneur Reynaud has no kind words to say. "There are two distinct Chinas, the official China, composed of literati and mandarins, and the China of private

individuals. The first deserves all the reproaches heaped upon it. . . . Although the Chinese code of law is remarkable for its wisdom and its equity, it is a mere collection of beautiful maxims, as all legislation is left to the sweet will of the corrupt mandarins, who make a regular traffic of justice. . . . The Chinese, while stoically enduring these exactions, heartily despise the mandarins and their satellites, who are really responsible for the abuses that so forcibly strike Europeans."

And most of the obstacles to the conversion of the Chinese are attributed to "the hatred of the mandarins, the calumnies of the literati, and family persecution."

On the native priests as severe judgment is passed as upon the mandarins. "The bonzes, as I know them in the province of Che-Kiang, ought not to inspire us with any serious apprehensions. Their bad reputation injures their influence and their laziness interferes with their zeal. Their vocation is simply a trade, and they live by the altar, as a workman lives by his tools. Their services are indeed believed in and paid for, but their conduct wins them much contempt."

This is the opinion expressed also by such fair writers as Eitel, who says: The priests are mostly recruited from the lowest classes, and one finds among them frequently the most wretched specimens of humanity, more devoted to opium smoking than any other class in China. They have no intellectual tastes, they have centuries ago ceased to cultivate the study of Sanskrit, they know next to nothing about the history of their own religion, living together mostly in idleness, and occasionally going out to earn some money by reading litanies for the

dead, or acting as exorcists and sorcerers or physicians. No community of interest, no ties of social life, no object of generous ambition, beyond the satisfying of those wants which bind them to the cloister, diversify the monotonous current of their daily life. And Ball also declares: "The priests are ignorant, low and immoral, addicted to opium, despised by the people, held up to contempt and ridicule, and the gibe and joke of the populace."

An interesting chapter is given to Chinese charitable institutions, hospitals, and homes for animals, orphanages, almshouses, asylums for widows, dispensaries, and homes for old men, which is closed with the true paragraph:

"Though it may surprise our readers to hear of such beneficent associations among pagans, they should not leap to the conclusion that China is a land of milk and honey, where every unfortunate creature may be sure of aid; for these charitable institutions are deplorably mismanaged. Great is the robbery and waste by rapacious underlings, not to mention the utter carelessness and the various abuses to be found in these Chinese establishments, thereby forming a striking contrast to those of our missions, to the wondering admiration of the natives. Still these good works prove that there is some feeling of philanthropy among these people, and everywhere the missionaries constantly meet with souls, who, as Tertullian would say, are 'naturally Christians, since they can comprehend the spirit of charity.'"

The contact of Western irreligious civilization with the Chinese seems as objectionable to this Catholic

missionary as it does to the Protestants, and he calls the treaty ports "real sinks of iniquity, attracting the wicked and corrupting the good"; and proceeds:

"The contact with Western civilization seems to turn the head of the ordinary Chinese, who imitate European defects in addition to their own vices. Nowhere are there men so absurd, more arrogant and insupportable, than certain Celestials in foreign employment. . . . Infatuated with their own superiority, the Europeans are often blind to the good qualities of the Celestials whom they offend by displaying open contempt of the natives and their habits; while, on the other hand, the sad samples of our civilization often seen at the ports, are not likely to excite in the minds of the natives respect or admiration for modern progress. The Chinese are heathens who have not had eighteen centuries of Christianity to civilize them; but it must be admitted that with all their errors and vices, they have not fallen as low as other nations. For instance, many of the reproaches addressed by St. Paul to the Romans, would not be brought by him against the inhabitants of China, were he now to visit it. We may go further, and say that the corruption existing in China is less deep-seated and less visible than in certain of our Western cities, the scandal of which would bring a blush to the cheek of a Chinaman, who is deemed to be so wicked."

The number of Catholics in China is acknowledged to be doubtful, but Mr. Kelly, the editor, says: "If we might hazard a guess as to the actual truth of the question, probably we might place the number of Catholics in China proper at three-quarters of a million." He computes the annual number of conversions

to be rather more than 10,000, not including those who receive baptism at death. The following "outline of the Catholic propaganda" in the province of Che-Kiang, is given and declared to be representative of the work throughout China:

"Che-Kiang was, in 1551, a portion of the diocese of Macao, the Portuguese settlement near Canton, but in the next century it was made a vicariate apostolic with three other districts (1659). Thirty-five years later we find Che-Kiang a vicariate in itself, until 1790-1830, when it was joined with that of Kiang-Si. In 1846, these vicariates were separated again under different bishops, and there has been no subsequent change in this division. In Che-Kiang the missionaries are chiefly Lazarists or Vincentians, and in 1896 there were in the vicariate 10,419 Catholics, 1 bishop, 13 European and 10 native missionaries, and 5 native theological students, among a population presumed to be over 23,000,000 heathens and 5,359 Protestants. There are 35 Sisters of Charity, 29 Vigins of Purgatory, and 38 Catechists, including schoolmasters and mistresses. The Sisters of Charity in the province of Che-Kiang have the care of a large number of hospitals, orphanages, and similar institutions. They courageously compete with the Protestant ministers, some of whom being physicians, also have hospitals, and visit the sick in their homes, striving by this powerful means to push on their own work. The Sisters, comprehending the far-reaching consequences of this enterprise, carry out their visitations of the sick with the utmost zeal and success, and even influential families, including those of the mandarins, apply to them for their remedies and care. The Sisters can go where they please, and are invited into the houses of rich

and poor, where they nurse an immense number of pagans, and baptize every year over 3,000 dying children. Even the ferrymen will refuse to take a fee from the Sisters, so much are they loved at Ningpo and elsewhere.

" Such is the brief preliminary outline of the Catholic propaganda as it exists in a single diocese of China. From this basis, it will be possible to calculate in some way the vast work which is carried on throughout the empire, in which there are (in China proper, without including the dependencies), 27 such districts, each with its own bishop and staff of clergy, besides four districts which are differently organized. The diocese of Che-Kiang may be considered in a certain sense as a typical one, inasmuch as it stands midway, in numerical importance, between the very large and the comparatively small divisions. It may be useful here to give a few statistics relating to the largest vicariate, that of Kiang-Nan (Nan-King), which is under the Society of Jesus. In the year 1892, it boasted no less than 96,382 Catholics, with 128 priests, 32 seminarists, and 177 nuns. There is one other Jesuit mission, that of South Pe-Chih-Li, which is smaller than Kiang-Nan, but is yet among the most flourishing dioceses. There are six Lazarist missions, including that of Northern Pe-Chih-Li or Peking, and the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians are also well represented. Most of the missions are French; others hail from Belgium, Italy, and Holland."

Mr. Kelly says there is but one English-speaking priest in China, the Rev. John McVeigh, of Peking. This may be true, but a brother, whom I understood to be a priest, and who spoke English excellently, took me over the large Catholic establishment at Shanghai,

in the summer of 1897, and told me that there was one priest there from America also, the only American among the Catholic missionaries in China. There is one English sister in Monseigneur Reynaud's episcopal city.

Of the character of the Catholic Christians, Mons. Reynaud speaks with unwavering confidence. "When we consider their sincerity," he says; "when we consider that at the call of grace they have trampled under foot all human respect, and have voluntarily exposed, and do expose, themselves to insult and persecution, how can we imagine China to be a country invincibly opposed to the progress of religion and the ethics of the gospel?" He defines the kind of conversion at which the Catholic missionaries aim, as meaning "not merely passing from one altar to another, but also including a complete change of life along with a change in one's beliefs." At the same time Bishop Reynaud believes in conversion *en masse*. He writes:

"I will proceed to deal with an assertion sometimes made, namely, that conversions *en masse* are no longer possible in China. Now the falsity of this statement can be best contradicted by events that occur in this very province, where on all sides we are invited into large villages, and deputations are sometimes sent to us by entire cantons. Overwhelmed by these petitions, my own missionaries no longer suffice for the work, and on all sides they are begging for helpers."

Some might skeptically wonder whether these village movements are such spiritual movements as are represented. Protestant missionaries are meeting constantly with such appeals, which spring not from religious interest but from desire to have the powerful help of missionary influence in Chinese lawsuits. Lo-

cal mandarins fear appeals to Peking, and the prospect of missionary intervention secures for a litigant in a Chinese court consideration which unassisted he would never receive. This danger is recognized elsewhere in this book:

"Of course we may have careless or even vicious people, but sooner or later they turn over a new leaf; while apostasy is a rare occurrence, as everything is done to test the reality of each conversion, and no pains are spared for the instruction of the catechumens. In a land like China, where abuse of authority, bad administration, love of litigation, and a vengeful spirit are rife, if we were to open our doors to everybody, we should quickly be overwhelmed, and our whole time absorbed in settling the quarrels of the people. Moreover, there is the danger of unwittingly posing as champions of unjust causes, besides the risk of opposition to the mandarins, who, at best, barely tolerate us. Religion also would suffer, as the converts would be accused of interested motives in joining us. Hence it is very necessary to be most particular in the admission of catechumens, and to reject all who come to us with lawsuits. Before pagans can be inscribed as catechumens they must renounce all superstitions, destroy their idols, begin to learn the catechism and their prayers, and to live as if they were already Christians."

But elsewhere Mons. Reynaud recognizes the part played by Catholic missions in political intervention. "Settling local difficulties" is spoken of as one of the duties of catechists, and the missionary "must settle various difficulties that always arise among the converts, such as family persecution and worries of all

kinds, while the mandarins are always ready to complicate the simplest cases; so that a missionary must be kept stationary a long time by one piece of business." It is recognized also that in some places the Catholic missionaries assume the rank of mandarins. It is not stated, though it might truthfully be admitted, that sometimes they usurp the functions of Chinese magistrates. It was against the common practise of the Catholic missionaries in these regards that the Chinese government protested in the circular issued in 1871, saying:

"Cases for litigation between Christians and non-Christians are under the equitable jurisdiction of the authorities, and cannot be left to the patronage of the missionaries. . . . In the provinces the missionaries make themselves the advocates before the local authorities, of the Christians who have suits. Witness that Christian woman of Sze-Chuen, who exacted from her tenants payments of a nature which were not due to her, and ultimately committed a murder. A French bishop took upon himself to address a despatch to the authorities in order to plead for the woman, and procured her acquittal. This deed aroused animosities among the people of Sze-Chuen, which have lasted to this day. . . . The missionaries ought to observe Chinese customs, and to deviate from them in no respect; for instance, they ought not to make use of seals, the use of which is reserved for functionaries alone. It is not allowed them to send despatches to a yamen, whatever may be their importance. If, however, for an urgent matter it should be absolutely necessary to write, they may do it, but taking good care not to speak of matters beyond the subject, and making use, like people belonging to the class of liter-

ates, of the ping-tieh (petition). When the missionaries visit a great mandarin, they must observe the same ceremonies as those exacted from the literates; if they visit a mandarin of inferior rank, they must also conform to the customary ceremonies. They must not unceremoniously go into the yamens and bring disorder and confusion into the affair. . . . The French bishop, Mons. Pinchon, in a letter which he sent to the authorities, made use of an official seal manufactured by himself. . . . Mons. Faurie, bishop of Kwei-chow, handed to the officer charged with the remission of the letters of the government a despatch to the address of the yamen, to ask that marks of distinction should be accorded to a Taotai, called Te-Wen, and to other persons besides. In Shantung a missionary passed himself off as hsien-fu (provincial governor). In Sze-Chuen and Kwei-chow, missionaries took upon themselves to demand the recall of mandarins who had not arranged their affairs to their satisfaction. So it is not only the authority of simple functionaries that they assumed, they claim further a power which the sovereign alone possesses. After such acts, how could general indignation fail to be aroused?"

There has been much in the corrupt administration of officials to invite such intervention. Protestant missionaries have not been free from it, though they have been much less guilty than Catholics. The consequences cannot be discussed here. It is enough to observe that Monseigneur Reynaud, who seems to carry on his work in Che-Kiang with as fair a spirit as possible,—Bishop Moule of Hangchow, of the Church of England, is sceptical on this point, and Bishop Moule's judgment is reliable,—does not disavow this political interference.

Of course such interference derives its power from the possibility of the intervention of foreign governments. There are signs of restiveness on the part of some Catholic missionaries under the embarrassment of their relations to the French government, which has been their chief support. The consequences of the close relationship of missions with government they are coming to see. The Rev. L. E. Louvet of the "Missions Étrangères" wrote in *Les Missions Catholiques,* June 26, 1891:

"Whence comes this obstinate determination to reject Christianity? It is not religious fanaticism, for no people are so far gone as the Chinese in skepticism and indifference. One may be a disciple of Confucius or of Lao-tze, Mussulman, or Buddhist, the Chinese government does not regard it. It is only against the Christian religion it seeks to defend itself. It sees all Europe following on the heels of the apostles of Christ, Europe with her ideas, her civilization, and with *that* it will have absolutely nothing to do, being, rightly or wrongly, satisfied with the ways of its fathers.

"The question, therefore, has much more of a political than a religious character, or rather it is almost entirely political. On the day when intelligent China shall be persuaded that it is possible to be Chinese and Christian at the same time; above all, on the day when she shall see a native ecclesiastic at the head of the Church in China, Christianity will obtain liberty in this great empire of 400,000,000 souls, whose conversion will carry with it that of the Far East.

"The efforts of the missionaries should therefore be directed toward separating their cause entirely from political interests. From this point of view I cannot for my own part but deplore the intervention of Euro-

pean governments. Nothing could in itself indeed be more legitimate, but at the same time nothing could be more dangerous or likely to arouse the national pride and the hatred of the intellectual and learned classes. In truth, even from the special point of view of the safety of the missionaries, what have we gained by the provision of the treaties? During the first forty years of the present century three missionaries only were put to death for their faith, after judicial sentence, viz.: The Ven. Dufresse, vicar-apostolic of Sze-Chuen, in 1814; the Ven. Clet and the blessed Perboyre, Lazarists, in Hu-Peh, in 1820 and 1840. Since the treaties of 1844 and 1860, not a single death sentence has been judicially pronounced, it is true, but more than twenty missionaries have fallen by the hands of assassins hired by the mandarins. These were: In 1856, the Ven. Chapdelaine; in 1862, the Ven. Neel; in 1865, 1869, 1873, Mm. Mabileau, Rigaud, and Hue, in Yunnan. Did the treaties prevent the horrible Tien-Tsin massacre in June, 1870, the murder of our consul, of all the French residents, of two Lazarists, and nine Sisters of Charity? Nearly every year Christian communities are destroyed, churches sacked, missionaries killed or maimed, Christians put to death. And when France protests against such outrages, she is answered by an insolent memorandum (1871) filled with calumnies against the missionaries and their works, and the chief of the embassy sent to Paris to excuse the massacres of Tien-Tsin is the very man who directed them, and whose hands are still stained with the blood of our countrymen!"

Bishop Reynaud describes frankly the methods of the Catholic missionaries in China. Of the general training of inquirers and converts he says:

"When possible they have a period of probation in our settlements, where they are imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and by good example are trained in the maxims of the gospel. The missionaries constantly catechize them, and explain every difficulty. In their own homes, too, they devote themselves to the study of Christian doctrine, and they often sing their prayers during their work, or repeat lessons while travelling, and some will even pay heathens to teach them to read quicker. Many of these people are illiterate; others are advanced in years, and the greater number are occupied supporting their families, so that it requires courage to undertake the learning of prayers and the catechism. The women are even worse off, as they generally cannot read one word. On an average, the instruction and testing of catechumens lasts a year, and after baptism, they are subjected to a rule that prevents their forgetting what they have learned. Every Sunday the Christians assembled in the church must recite aloud the catechism, so that it is gone through several times in the year. At the annual confession, the missionaries ask each one questions from the catechism, which obliges the people to recollect what they have been taught. Experience has proved the value of this rule, which is rigorously enforced in this province and in many other vicariates. Our Christians thus carefully instructed are usually pious and fervent, having an instinctive horror of the superstitions around them, and we have occasionally to moderate the zeal of those who are too ready to express their contempt. At the same time, it should be observed that some of our neophytes are really confessors for the faith, owing to the tortures and ill-treatment inflicted to enforce compliance with local superstitions. Their fidelity is more to be lauded, as very often they are given the

option of a small fine, which they steadfastly refuse to pay. Our Christians are most attentive to their devotions, and family prayer is a general rule. They are very fond of the rosary, the fifteen mysteries being sung at intervals in the church on Sundays. Many old people spend their whole time praying, and there is great devotion to the Blessed Sacrament."

Lent is so strictly observed among the Christians that "it has not been thought expedient to publish the mitigations allowed elsewhere." Of the chanting of the Chinese Christians, Mons. Reynaud declares: "So melodious and devotional is this chant that one could spend entire days listening to it, and it is the general opinion of European and Chinese missionaries, that even the saints in heaven could not sing more divinely." Mr. Kelly, the editor, cannot forbear adding in a footnote, however:

"It may be remarked that there can be a difference of opinion concerning the musical abilities of Chinese catechumens so highly extolled by Monseigneur Reynaud. An English lady, who is a member of his flock, described the first Sunday in China as 'one long attempt to suppress mirth at the fearful uproar going on during Mass and Benediction, when every Celestial in the congregation sang in his own favourite key. He who squalled loudest, prayed best, while some fervent women kept up a high soprano in a nasal organ. All the devotions are sung in the same fashion, and the Chinese appear able to go on like wound-up machines.' But there is no accounting for tastes."

The Catholic missionaries do not shrink from establishing separate Christian communities. Of orphans,

Bishop Reynaud says: "Some are placed in Christian families, while others form Christian villages, which are like an oasis in the desert of paganism." And apart from these communities, much is made of temporary settlement of Christians under the supervision of and in contact with the missionaries.

"The same remarks about the children may be applied to the catechumens, who, unless they can spend a few months in our residences, near the priests and the church, never become really reliable Christians. The example and the daily instruction of the missionaries, the absence from pagan surroundings, and family cares, mean everything to them, as it is chiefly by sight and hearing they can be thoroughly Christianized."

This feeling of distrust of the converts, unless they can have had long training, is specially apparent in what Monseigneur Reynaud says about the reliability of the native priests:

"Though the native clergy are of such assistance, they are unable to have the sole charge of such districts as large as great European dioceses, without the guidance of an European missionary. Many cases arise in which, by his superior knowledge and experience, the latter is better able to give a decision than his Chinese comrade, who is not so capable of directing other people. The general rule, therefore, is to place an European priest at the head of a mission, with one or two native missionaries as his curates."

On this account Catholic missionaries are believed to be indispensable and not capable of displacement by

native priests. The admirers of Catholic missions who criticize Protestant missions as foreign in comparison, and not sufficiently adaptive to the native life, receive a check here. The Protestant missions aim at the establishment of independent native churches, and are ready to push forward and trust the native preachers. The Catholic missionaries aim at subjection of the native churches to Roman direction, and so while apparently welcoming the Chinese priests to equality with the foreign missionaries, really retain the authority in the hands of the latter. Thus Bishop Reynaud emphasizes the need of missionaries and the secondary character of the native workers:

"In the desperate contest between heaven and hell for the souls of men, priests are the proper officials deputed to fight for God and His Catholic Church, and to win from the demon slaves who, without their intervention, would be lost forever. Peaceable soldiers of the cross, they effect immense conquests for the true faith; indefatigable labourers, they sow the good seed of salvation in all directions, often fertilizing it by their sufferings, and sometimes by their blood. They are the mainsprings of every work undertaken for the conversion of the heathens who are perishing in thousands. Therefore, the need of missionaries is most urgent among these poor pagans, so that these souls wandering in darkness may have a chance of receiving a ray of hope.

"Even at Peking, where there are old Christian families of three hundred years' standing, the Chinese priests require the support of a European missionary. How much more do they require him in the vicariate of Che-Kiang, where the catechumens are nearly all new Christians. The missionaries are of opinion that

it is only after four generations that the Chinese can be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Catholic faith. For this reason only Chinamen whose families have been Catholics for two or three centuries, are admitted to the priesthood. Converts of a recent date are never accepted without a special dispensation, which is seldom applied for, and which is still more seldom granted.

"Baron Von Hubner, in his book of travels, says that the native priests 'eagerly seek theological discussions, but, more subtle than profound, they rarely go beyond a certain point in science. Vis-a-vis European missionaries they feel, and sometimes resent, their inferiority, but if treated with gentleness and discernment they become excellent fellow-labourers. With regard to morals, they leave nothing to be desired. They have never yet been promoted to the higher grades of the hierarchy.'

"What is really most required in China for the spread of the faith, is missionaries. Were there more priests we should have more catechumens, as one missionary can only attend to a certain number of converts, who have to be tested, instructed, and trained in the ways of life, all of which entail much labour, and often many journeys."

In the matter of self-support, Bishop Reynaud does not confirm the idea that the Catholic missions are independent of financial maintenance from the home church. No Protestant mission using foreign money profusely in the support of its work could make a more sweeping appeal than this:

"We are also in great need of pecuniary assistance. Just as soldiers must have arms, the missionaries must

have funds, to build the chapel, the school, and the little presbytery, which are as it were the outposts of the mission; to say nothing of the schoolmaster, the cook, a servant, and a band of young converts studying Christian doctrine. Our strongholds are represented by our great churches, central schools, orphanages, hospitals, dispensaries, asylums, and various other works of charity. Thus, there are many ways of exhausting the missionary's purse, though he may himself live on very little, as our converts will never let him die of starvation, but are always ready to share their houses and food with him. Still a large family of orphans and destitute people frequently depend on him for their support. Hence if we do not choose to assist the missions by sending out numerous priests and sufficient material aid, it will be useless to talk of China as a land of the future for the Catholic Church."

The Catholic mission in Che-Kiang appreciates the necessity of education, though it is a kind of education quite distinct from that conceived by the Protestant missions to meet the real and vital needs of the people. Latin, for example! The Protestant missions have left medievalism some three or four centuries behind.

"In the 'Petit Seminaire' at Chusan, there are forty youths, studying Latin and other sciences under a French missionary, so as later to become learned clergymen with attainments superior to those of the Chinese *literati*. In the 'Grand Seminaire' the students apply themselves to theology, which is taught in Latin and one European language, and they also follow other classes to acquire knowledge that will be useful in their future ministry. It is really important that

the native clergy should be highly educated in a country where learning, though based on the teachings of Confucius, and of the most antiquated description, is held in such great esteem by all ranks of people, from the highest to the lowest."

The theory of separation from their home life prevails in the Catholic schools, not of training in that life. The Bishop says of the schools:

"This is one of the most vital works of the mission, in which the Christianizing of children is concerned. They must be instructed very young, and taken away as much as possible from pagan surroundings. To do this properly, the schools should be near the missionaries. There are central schools in all the chief mission stations, where the children are completely separated from bad influences, and are taught to practise their religion by their teachers, and by the good example they see around them, whereas children who have not had this advantage are recognizable at a glance, as they do not comprehend their religion at all well.

"Another very important consideration is the following with regard to schools. They are often found to be most useful as a means of furthering conversions, as according to a French missionary, 'When the infant comes to school, his father will soon follow the child to the church, and these dear children, like St. John the Baptist, fill the valleys and bring low the mountains and hills, by opening to their parents the path leading to our Blessed Saviour.'

There is training in industrial work also. "Some boys are taught agriculture on a farm belonging to the mission, others become tailors, shoemakers, carpenters,

etc., and it is also desirable that they should be taught the weaving of satin, which would be a very lucrative employment."

The medical work in this vicariate is quite extensive. There are "no less than 8 hospitals, 4 hospices, 5 dispensaries, 10 schools, and 5 orphanages," under the care of thirty-five Sisters of Charity and St. Vincent de Paul. More than three thousand patients are said to pass annually through the hospitals, and 100,000 are said to attend the dispensaries annually; "while the visits paid by the sisters to the sick in their own homes are over 35,000 in the year," or an average of about three a day for each sister.

This medical work opens the hearts of the people. It is quite free, no charge being made as is done in most of the Protestant mission hospitals and dispensaries. It makes the Sisters so popular, the Bishop relates, that the ferry-boys will frequently refuse payment from them. It gives splendid opportunities also for baptisms *in articulo mortis,* which amount to 300 yearly, "and the good work done in that way by the missionaries can hardly be computed." The Bishop gives an illustration of this form of ministry, and also of the way misunderstanding of the language is overruled for good.

"One day a catechumen arrived out of breath at the mission station, and, with tears in his eyes, told the missionary his mother was dying. The father, thinking he meant his old Christian grandmother, fetched the holy oils, and hastened away. He had been twenty minutes on the road when the catechist who was accompanying, asked, 'Father, why have you brought the holy oils, for it is not the Christian grandmother who is ill, but the catechumen's adoptive mother, who

is a pagan?' The missionary thought it was very tiresome to be taken on a long expedition to see a pagan woman, but the sudden inspiration struck him that God wished to save this poor soul, and, therefore, had allowed him to misunderstand the catechumen's meaning. Accordingly, the missionary hurried along the bad road, praying that the Sacred Heart would grant the grace of conversion. This heathen woman had formerly adopted the catechumen, but she knew very little about his conversion, and merely said that she would die in the same beliefs as her ancestors. It was dark when the missionary arrived, and at too late an hour for him to do more than send a Christian to say to the woman, 'The father, hearing you were ill, has come expressly to see you, and to exhort you to honour God, and save your soul. Will you receive him to-morrow morning?' The sick woman at once asked for baptism, and was overjoyed to hear that the father had come 'to pour the holy water over her.' As she was not in immediate danger she was instructed, and the next morning, after mass, the missionary questioned her, and found, to his joy, that she only required baptism to go straight to heaven. To prevent superstitious practises after her death, the convert sent word to all her heathen relations that she was dying a Christian, so that they should not prevent her burial according to the rites of the Catholic Church, as very often trouble arises when a pagan dies at once after baptism, and the heathens persist in declaring the baptism to be an invention of 'the European devil.'"

In the superstitions of the Chinese, Monseigneur Reynaud finds a preparation for the gospel rather than an exclusive obstacle.

"Even their erroneous beliefs may, in a certain sense, count in their favour, inasmuch as they may sometimes tend to show a strong yearning after the supernatural. After all, an indifferent pagan, having no faith in his idols, no idea of a future life, or regarding it as the veriest fable, is prone to be far less susceptible than the others to the arguments of the Catholic priest. . . . Although we have met with those who were perfectly insensible to every religious feeling, yet in the province of Che-Kiang (which is one of the most superstitious in China), the greater number of the people do believe in something. Above all, they believe that it is not in vain for people to live well in this world, as in the next there is a heaven and a hell, representations of which are often shown by their bonzes, and they have an expressive proverb, saying, 'The good will have the recompense due to virtue, and the wicked the chastisement due to evil; and if this retribution has not yet come, it is because the time for it has not yet arrived.' . . . The spirit inspiring such practises may often be less an obstacle to conversion than a remote preparation, proving that there is plenty of good will, although it is, for the time unfortunately, turned in the wrong direction. As a rule, the heathens do not offer any serious defence of their false beliefs, nor do they try to oppose our doctrines. Once their naturally subtle minds are open to conviction, they comprehend quickly enough that their superstitions are as ill founded as our dogmas are worthy of the highest respect and veneration. If they have followed a false religion, it has been through ignorance of the true faith, and because they could find nothing better in their own country. Therefore, we may assume that, as far as the conversion of the Chi-

nese is concerned, their very proclivity to superstition may be turned to good account."

It is very interesting to note the Catholic attitude toward ancestor worship. This must be sacrificed, says the Bishop.

"But what the convert feels much more is the sacrifice he must make of ancestor-worship, which is so profoundly rooted in China that several have considered it as the chief obstacle to the conversion of the Chinese. In theory, and in practice, filial piety holds the first rank among their virtues, and there can be no greater insult, even to the lowest and most worthless Chinaman, than to call him an undutiful son. Ancestor-worship is an act of filial piety by which children render divine honours to the memory of their deceased parent. Neglect of this duty by the Christians exposes them to the violent anger of their families and neighbours, which fact naturally does not encourage timid people to become converts."

Such a liberal-spirited man as Dr. Muirhead contended at the Shanghai Conference in 1890 that the Catholics were not as keen and severe in their condemnation of ancestor-worship as might appear, the converts being allowed to share so far in the worship of ancestors as delivered them from persecution, and from too violent rupture with their old superstitions. Dr. Muirhead said:

"I have spoken to several of the Catholics about it, and they seem to adopt a practice which, at least from our standpoint, is one and the same with the habitual practice of the Chinese. On one occasion, when I was

considering the subject, I went to our chapel in the city, and the first man who came in turned out to be a Roman Catholic belonging to the country on the North side of the river. I asked him if he ever practised ancestral-worship, and he said, 'At certain times I have the tablets of my five ancestors, who were connected with the Catholic Church, brought out, and I ask a priest to come and perform the services connected therewith.' I inquired, 'Is it a foreign priest who comes?' He said, 'No; that would be too expensive. I have a native priest on the occasion, and he does the thing as well, but much cheaper.' At the time when the rebels were round Shanghai, the French admiral was killed, and a requiem for his soul was performed at the French cathedral. A Christian convert came to me and said, 'How is it that the Roman Catholics adopt in this instance the same words which the Taoists use in similar cases?' The words are *ts'au du wang ling,* or 'to rescue the soul of the deceased.' He thought it most inconsistent with Christianity. I only mention this to show that, in the expressions of the Roman Catholics, however much the pope may have interdicted it, there is a course of things which, according to all accounts, is identical with the heathen supersitions.

And Bishop Reynaud himself points out that the doctrine of purgatory consoles the converts, and, in a measure replaces with authorized and orthodox ceremonies the old rites of worship of the departed.

"This erroneous and superstitious practise, however, makes the catechumens adopt and cherish more readily the devotion to the souls in purgatory, and this is, no doubt, one of the strongest attractions which they

find in our faith, as compared with the Protestant religion."

There is a special order, "composed exclusively of natives," devoted wholly to "the holy souls, and often to the most abandoned of them. Each day they offer for the solace of these poor souls, their works, their sufferings, and all their satisfactions."

Of the sale of opium by Christians Monseigneur Reynaud says:

"The Christians are permitted neither to plant the poppy seed, nor to sell the drug, and must seek some other employment, which is not easy in China where there is such competition in every trade."

The importance of the conversion of whole families, and especially of mothers, is thoroughly appreciated.

"It is most essential that the mother of a family should be the first converted, for she will bring after her the husband and children, and keep them to the practice of their religion. So convinced are many missionaries of this that they often refuse to baptize the men without their wives."

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this little book is its discussion of Protestant missions. Its tone is kindly on the whole. The editor begins a foot-note in eulogy of the Rev. Robert Stewart, of the Church of England, who was murdered in Fuh-Kien province in 1895, with the sentence. "As we shall find it a duty to pass some severe criticisms upon the Protestant missions and missionaries in China, it is pleasant to be able to pay a tribute to the beautiful life and character of an Irishman, of whom his own child said, 'Father

never liked to be praised.' " The author speaks of the Protestant missions as constituting a more serious embarrassment even than the native priests, and expresses a desire to have some English priests, who " would prevent our Protestant compatriots from behaving in the very objectionable way they often do—not at Ningpo, where we have the *élite,* many of them educated gentlemen, but in the interior, where, with some of them, their one creed seems to be preaching against Catholicity." He speaks also of the Protestant missionaries as " objectionable ministers," and adds, " We find that converts who have been Protestants find more difficulty in implicitly accepting Catholic dogma than those who have been heathens." Yet he recognizes their efficiency and earnestness:

" With their knowledge of the language and constant communication with Chinese of every rank, the Protestant missionaries are better able than the consuls, the custom officials, or the traders to present us with a fair description of the Chinamen. Consequently they do not speak so badly of them, and some even praise the Chinese to a certain extent. Yet, notwithstanding their distribution of Bibles, their schools, the money they spend so liberally, the men they employ, and the labours in which they certainly do not spare themselves, the ministers are far from successful."

And he says: " The intention of the Protestant missionaries is good." These generous acknowledgments are the more to Mons. Reynaud's credit when it is observed that his chief authority on Protestant missions is " Sir Henry Norman." Mr. Norman is a rather ludicrous authority on missions.

According to this Catholic view, " the Protestants

in China are very far from imitating the *dolce far niente* of the bonzes. They are three times more numerous than the Catholic missionaries, they have plenty of means, they have also the prestige of their nationality—most of them coming from England, which is considered as a faithful and generous ally by the Chinese, who call the Protestant creed 'the English religion.'" On the other hand, Bishop Reynaud holds that there are radical weaknesses in the Protestant work. Some of them are the same weaknesses which a Catholic would find in Protestantism anywhere. He criticizes first the consecration unguided by a mission tradition:

"Many of these ministers coming from England supply their want of theological science by a mystic enthusiasm which leads them into various delusions. On their arrival in China they find no tradition to guide them, no direction to assist their inexperience. They come to replace missionaries who are going away; and in a place where all is so strange, so different from Europe, left completely to themselves, these young men, with all the good will in the world, must be liable to the most discouraging mistakes and errors of judgment."

There is some real force in this criticism. Secondly, he criticizes "the incoherence of the Protestant creeds and the conflicting instructions of the ministers;" and declares that because of their failure in direct conversions, the Protestant missionaries have turned aside to philanthropy, which yet he calls a "powerful means to further their own work."

"Even the pastors lament this serious obstacle, and in their assembly at Shanghai, 1890, they were obliged

to sacrifice some of their special doctrines, and to turn their labours more in the direction of schools, hospitals, and translation of books. At present they have widened their sphere of action by a crusade against wine, tobacco, and women's small feet. To this last objection, a Chinaman at Ningpo replied in the newspaper that there were other more necessary reforms needed, chiefly as to the importation of opium, which should be first checked, and also in the custom of tight-lacing, which they declared to be more injurious to the European ladies than tying the feet is to their own. These questions may gratify philanthropists, but they will never convert the Chinese."

Many Protestant missionaries have lamented the disproportion between the philanthropic mission agency and the direct work of evangelization. Mons. Reynaud goes on to criticize the very genius of Protestantism as insufficient for China: "The absence of unity of belief, the rejection of authority in favour of private judgment are radical defects of Protestantism. Now this very principle of authority is everything to a Chinese, being the foundation-stone of family and social existence, and no people have more respect for absolute authority than the Celestials. A religion that rejects this vital principle can never be regarded in a serious light by the Chinaman." Another class of criticism is quite suspicious:

"By their attacks upon the Virgin Mother of God, the ministers merely disgust the Chinese, who have such an exalted idea of their own mothers that a woman has no name, but is always known as the mother of her son, 'Lipa-am,' 'Atching-am'—the mother of Lipa and Atching. Therefore the devotion to Our Lady is

readily understood by catechumens; and once a whole band of pagans, on hearing abuse of the Blessed Virgin, deserted the Protestant chapel, and came to the Catholic missionary to ask for baptism."

The comfortable lives of the Protestant missionaries, their being married men, their public propaganda are all regarded as further objections. It is not generally known, I think, that the Catholic missions carry on so little of a direct evangelistic propaganda, but rather wait for the people to come to them, or to be drawn in by this motive or that. The general feeling in China is that the European priests having in some places, as Bishop Reynaud says, "the rank of mandarins," rather hold aloof from the immediate contact with the people, and the delivery to the hearts of the people of the appeals of the gospel. Père Repa charged this, in substance, years ago. Bishop Reynaud sets forth the claim of the Catholic missions to identity of life and interests with the people, but the claim scarcely comports with the criticism of the over-familiarity of the Protestant missionaries with the people, as this latter criticism seems inconsistent with the charge that these missionaries are not close to the people. Still, his description of the Catholic method is worth quoting:

"These and other defects are the true reasons of the little success of Protestantism in China, and our cause should not be confounded with theirs, as we follow a very different road, with very different results. We do not go to China to criticize manners or to destroy customs that are not at variance with Catholic doctrine, even though they be repugnant to Western prejudice. The great aim set before our missionaries by

Rome, the sole desire of their hearts, is to implant the knowledge of faith and charity in the souls of the Chinese. This is the polar star that directs their labours. Arriving in the country, instead of being abandoned to themselves, they find a path traced out for them which aids their inexperience. Subject to a recognized authority that prevents them from being led astray by first impressions, it is not at their own expense, at their own risk and peril, or by dint of groping their way through innumerable mistakes, that they learn to understand the natives and customs of their new country. From the commencement they are guided by the instruction of experienced men, and in this Chinese empire, a perplexing labyrinth for many foreigners, they have only to follow, not to seek, the right path. Free from all ties of this world, having no family cares to distract their attention, they are at perfect liberty to follow their vocation, which is, like the Apostles, to be all things unto all men, in order to gain souls to Jesus Christ. As the Son of God came on earth to save men, so the missionaries who continue His work, set aside their prejudices and conform themselves, as far as is allowable, to the manners of the people they wish to convert. This being an essential condition to insure success, the missionaries lead the life and wear the dress of the Chinese, so that there may be as little difference, and as few causes of distrust, between them and the people, as possible, and a closeness of intercourse which will enable them to smooth away many difficulties, and to study and understand the good and bad qualities of the soil they have to cultivate. At the same time, by their sacred calling, they are able to discern the virtues and the vices of the individual; they come in contact with families, and in this way they acquire knowledge of

many a detail connected with the life of the people. The Chinese do not consider them as travellers or mere birds of passage, but as neighbours who speak the same language, and very often as dear friends living under the same roof. In one word, China is the adopted home in which the Catholic missionaries live and die, and which they love in spite of many privations and hardships, that are not as well-known as the dangers of ill-treatment and murder, and yet are the great cause of the mortality that so rapidly thins the ranks of these zealous priests."

Mons. Reynaud claims for Catholic Christianity a power of adaptation to the East which Protestant Christianity lacks, and a consequent greater success:

"The Catholic missionaries in China, as in Hindustan, succeed far better in making some impression upon the hard surface of Oriental society than do their Protestant rivals. But is this so very surprising? No, for coming eighteen centuries ago from the East, the Catholic religion must be more congenial to Orientals than the contradictory creeds of a modern religion, which is so deeply imbued with European ideas, that it is at complete variance with those of the conservative Asiatics, who in thought and in custom are much the same as their ancestors in the far-off days which were illumined by the coming of 'The Light of the World.'"

However this may be, it is not possible to withhold from the Catholic missions in China our genuine admiration for their devotion, sagacity, and sincerity. Our ways are not their ways, and there is a great deal which, from our point of view, we should criti-

cize severely; but it is pleasanter to close this sketch of Bishop Reynaud's little book, with a candid recognition of its kindliness and good spirit, and of the deep love for souls which it reveals. If we disagree with the Catholic missionaries in their methods or views, at least let us be ashamed to be surpassed by them in devotion to our Lord, or in longing for the salvation of men.

XIX

HIGHER EDUCATION IN MISSIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CONDITIONS IN CHINA

IT is not intended here to re-open the question of the right of higher education to a place among the agencies of missions. That question is closed. Individuals may disagree with the judgment that has been reached, and in fields where many missions are at work, some may be able to dispense with any extensive educational work, the duty being discharged by other missions. But the plain and unavoidable necessities of the mission work have simply compelled the missionary movement to develop the agency of education. What measure of opposition there has been to it has been probably due, as much as to anything else, to the protest against the extreme views of moderatism and educationalism in the home Church, from which the early missionary spirit was a reaction. In most missions, the educational agency was used from the beginning, and if ever questions have arisen regarding it, they have concerned not the fundamental principles of it, but only problems of proportion, limits and methods. If education is right and useful in the propagation and support of Christianity at home, it is right and useful abroad.

Higher education is not an exact term. It would connote in one land less or more than in another. We mean by it in missions such education as may be required, beyond what is primary and intermediate, to enable the native church to meet its intellectual problems, to do its whole work, to hold its own and make headway against whatever difficulties, indigenous or

imported, may confront it. It is absolutely necessary for every mission which would fulfil its divinely appointed task, to raise up for its churches some men of thorough training and masterly ability. In every Asiatic mission field there are opponents of Christianity who must be met, to be sure, by the unanswerable argument of Christlike lives, but by these given utterance in men who understand the difficulties of their people and who are able to justify the Christian faith to reason. And there must be men of this general type not among the preachers only. Christian leadership is not solely a matter of clergy. The strongest churches are made up of strong men following strong leaders. No strength of leadership will atone for weakness of following. And where we seek to build up strong indigenous churches, we must work for power in all lines, and endeavour to supply Christian men to lead in every sphere. Moreover, the East is bound to come into our Western secular knowledge. Shall it be led in by Christian men and be therein guided by them, or shall our religion and other knowledge be divorced in its view and arrayed in hostility one to the other?

In spite of his complaint at the development of Christianity which "drew into the domain of cosmology and religious philosophy a Person who had appeared in time and space," Harnack must recognize the necessity which is inherent in Christianity, "to come to terms with all life—with intellectual life as a whole." At home we may try to divorce the simple religious message of the gospel from our other knowledge. But it cannot be done in Asia. There, as Oswald Dykes points out, "Christianity connects itself with the whole view which man takes of the world as related to God, as a creation of God. It has to do

with fundamental questions which underlie all our physical science as well as speculative philosophy." With Western civilization spreading over Asia and introducing all the questions of Western skepticism and speculation, as well as that mass of knowledge with which Christianity alone of all religions can live, it is simply necessary that we should introduce into Asia at least enough of our Western theory of life and of the inter-relation of Christianity and science and philosophy to equip the native churches for a struggle which they are to share in common with us.

No matter how we state the aim of missions, we cannot make it so elementary as to relieve ourselves from this responsibility. We must equip the native churches for their work. This work will include the reconciliation of Christianity with other knowledge, old and new. We may be satisfied merely to endeavour to prepare a few men for this work by personal instruction, but in pursuing this course the principle is conceded, and those who establish colleges are simply doing the same thing on a more effective and adequate scale.

In some lands the educational agency, however tenacious of the general purpose of higher educational work as I have just suggested it, has been thrown back by the solidity of the resisting mass of native opinion and character and has been forced to content itself with certain great secondary advantages and results of education. This has been the case in India. Some great preachers and other leaders have been raised up, but in the main, the results of educational work have been (1) to undermine superstition and to purify opinion without winning full acceptance of the Christian faith; (2) to set Christianity in secure and commanding relations to the new knowledge pouring into the land; (3) to bring to bear on the most influ-

ential section of the people—those who otherwise would not have been reached at all,—a powerful even though not a successful propaganda; (4) to introduce Christian conceptions and moral sanctions and ideals into minds which have accepted the substance while unprepared to confess the form. These are goods, and they have justified the work done, even though less has been attained than was striven for. It is not necessary to resort for justification to comparison with the failure of other agencies to attain all they have aimed at.

In China, mission colleges have not met with such disappointment as this. They have in the main succeeded in doing what they were established to do—raise up Christian leaders, as preachers, teachers and laymen in various honourable services. If old conditions had continued unaltered, the work would have gone on substantially unchanged also. But the educational situation in China is undergoing a profound change. In 1895, in his *Educational Directory*, Dr. Freyer reported that there were ten government schools in China,—3 Tung Wen establishments, 3 Naval, 1 Military, 1 Mining and Engineering, 1 Medical and 1 Telegraph. The old Confucian educational system was in full swing, from village school to Hanlin Academy, "wen chang" and all. There was in the ports a demand for English, but neither there nor in the interior was there any demand for a genuine Western education. Then came the Japan War and its revelation of Chinese inefficiency which dumbfounded the Chinese officials. The demand for education and books which ensued, the Reform Era, the reaction of the Boxer Uprising, and the present situation we all know. That the development of the country will now be smooth and

regular, it would be vain to expect, but the prospects are brighter than ever before for the introduction of Western methods and ideas. The provincial governors are setting up schools on such a basis, and local gentry are contributing for such purposes. If the wen chang is truly to be abolished, and Western sciences, *bona fide,* introduced into the government examinations, institutions like these will be multiplied, and the pure missionary institutions also will be crowded by men who have no primary concern for Christianity, but who want the knowledge not otherwise obtainable.

Now, what course shall we pursue in view of this situation? (1) Some may say, "Give no heed to it. Go on just as though it did not exist. Preach. Educate preachers and train your Christian boys for positions of influence; but let the demand for secular education for its own sake alone." Both the advantages and the disadvantages of this course are evident. (2) Others may say, "This is a providential opportunity. The day of individual evangelization has passed. The time has come to work for classes. All energies should now be directed to this special work. If we delay or neglect, other agencies, some hostile to us, will enter it, occupy the field, and we shall never recover the opportunity. Call in the country evangelists and all missionaries qualified for such work, and set them at work translating books and teaching Western knowledge." (3) Of course the *via media* is the golden path of mission policy. (a) We should not allow the opportunity we now have of moulding the educational institutions of the government to escape. As Dr. Parker said in the Third Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China, "We Christian educators ought to be prepared to enter the doors thus open

to us. Every one of these institutions ought to have Christian presidents and Christian professors in charge of them and all the departments in them. What a grand opportunity to exert a commanding influence over the educational destinies of the empire, and, by this means, over all the affairs of the country. We ought to see to it that the men needed for these positions shall be forthcoming. All our missions should have young men sent out from home, specially trained as educators, to study the Chinese language and prepare themselves to fill the positions in the government and private schools that are opening to us on every hand. If Christian teachers do not get these places, they will be filled by unbelievers and heathen, as has been the case in Japan. This would indeed be a cause for lamentation. There is yet time to save the day for Christian education. But we must be quick about it. The Chinese must have the teachers, and they are going to get them, and if we do not supply the right kind, they will get the wrong kind."

The question whether missionaries should withdraw from their direct work to accept positions in the colleges the Chinese are providing, Dr. Parker is disposed to answer in the negative. "Having come to China for the express purpose of teaching the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, they do not feel at liberty to give up or relinquish that work in any measure, or place themselves, voluntarily, in positions where restrictions of a more or less serious character may be thrown around them which will prevent them from fulfilling their mission to the people in its holiest and highest meaning. Each one will decide this question for himself or herself, and the decisions reached by those concerned will differ according to circumstances. For myself I feel very strongly that a missionary ought not to give up

his mission work for a position in government employ. He cannot afford to place himself, willingly, in a position where his opportunities for preaching the gospel are taken away. Neither can he afford to give the impression to those Chinese who know him that the preaching of the gospel is a secondary matter, and may be given up for the sake of a high salary, an easier or more pleasant situation, or the honours and emoluments of official position. Whoever does this contradicts, and, so far as his influence goes, hinders the work of saving the people from their sins. And yet there are exceptions. Now and then it happens that a missionary finds himself in circumstances such that he can and perhaps ought to undertake the charge of a Chinese educational institution. For such we should have no words of condemnation. To their own Master they stand or fall." At the same Conference, Dr. Sheffield expressed the opinion that the limitations which have hitherto hedged about the work of Christian men in government institutions are disappearing, that " Christian men are certain in the future to have a larger opportunity than in the past to exert a moulding influence over the lives of their pupils." The headship of these new schools should certainly not be allowed to fall into hands hostile to Christianity, and yet Christian missionaries surely cannot accept such positions if debarred from using their influence, of course, in proper ways in behalf of Christianity. Dr. Verbeck and Dr. McCartee in Japan certainly did right in seizing the opportunity which came to them to influence the educational system of Japan. (b) We should not allow the present commercial or political demand for Western education to swamp the missionary character of our own institutions. We should so far modify our plans as will enable us to get hold of

more and better pupils, but not to the extent of lowering our standards of thoroughness of work and of openness and intensity of religious influence. Especially should we aim to do such work in our missionary institutions as will enable us to supply the demand for native teachers of high grade. It is more important in our mission schools to raise up teachers for Chinese schools than to educate for other government office the men whom these teachers would teach. "The demand of the hour," said Dr. Mateer, at one of the Educational Conferences, "is for teachers to supply what first-class colleges and high schools are needed in every province. This demand will continue and increase beyond our power to supply it. If we, as educators, are able to supply the best teachers in the market and who are at the same time Christian men, we will control China socially, politically, and religiously. Preachers are all important, and we must and will get them, the finest of the wheat sifted out from the mass we are educating. But the special call of the hour is for *teachers* to plant and nurture the new intellectual life that is coming into China. It is all important that these teachers be Christians. If they are Christians they will be an untold potency on the side of truth and righteousness, and may by the blessing of God turn the scale of the nation's future." I think the emphasis here is a little too heavy, but barring that, the view is true. (c) At the same time that we are doing all this, we most assuredly are not to call in the missionary evangelists. They are needed more than ever, and should be multiplied. The same conditions which bring pupils to the schools and create the demand for Western education, dispose the people to listen with interest to the gospel. And besides, the very success of the educational work depends upon its being a

part of a justly balanced propaganda in which by mutual checks and interactions, each branch of work is held true to the common supreme aim.

What has been said has suggested some elements in the situation of higher mission education in China which strongly distingush it from the situation elsewhere on the mission field. It may be well to refer more specifically to some of these differentials. (1) Christian higher education has pre-empted the field in China. A glance at Dr. Freyer's *Directory* of 1895, shows how completely the missions controlled the field. Practically the mission colleges alone could furnish teachers for Chinese schools. The Presbyterian College at Tungchow, in 1898, supplied eight professors to the Imperial University in Peking, and four to that in Nanking, and these were staunch Christian men. The plans of mission work in China should be such as to retain and not forfeit this immense advantage.

(2) The Chinese are a secularist and not a speculative people, materialistic, not philosophical. With them ethics and physics, and not metaphysics, will be of dominant interest. There is peril in this, and also great advantage. The experience of missionaries in India and in Japan has indicated that the gospel can break into materialistic opposition, whether non-ethical or ethical, more easily than into philosophical opposition. To be sure the difference is partly to be explained by the non-moral character of Hindu religious thought which lacks the inner necessity of a vinculum between opinion and practice. The craving of the Chinese for science, for what is practical, will exercise a powerful warping influence both for good and evil on our educational methods. We have met the Brahman mind on ground where Christianity was supposed to be strongest, namely, on the ground of phil-

osophy, and we have been stayed. It would be interesting if we should meet the Chinese mind on ground where the supremacy of Christianity has been most severely challenged, namely, its relation to the physical sciences, and win. (3) There is practically no danger at all of a large loss of results of the higher educational work in China through the emigration of educated men, as has been the case in Persia and Syria. The majority of graduates of the Urumia College in some recent years have come to the United States. Prior to 1894, the Literary Department of the Beirut College graduated 150 young men. One-sixth of these had left for foreign lands. No such result has followed work in India and Japan, and it will not follow in China. The Chinese nation will absorb, as Persia and Syria could not do, these nations having under Moslem rule practically come to a social and industrial equilibrium, the entire product of our colleges. The whole result may not go into the service of the Church, but it will all go into the service of China. (4) The teaching of English is one cause of this exodus of educated young men from Syria and Persia. The teaching of English will not issue so in China. Just preceding the Boxer Uprising, there was an immense demand for English. With the opening of positions of influence under the government, and the demand for educated men in all lines of work throughout the country, the abnormal call for English chiefly for the sake of obtaining employment in the open ports will pass away. It is right enough to take advantage of this call, provided response to it does not imperil the thorough and Christian character of the education given in our colleges. It is wrong to do it at sacrifice of the direct missionary efficiency of our educational work. And if English is allowed to dis-

place Chinese from its rightful position, great evil will be done. Mr. Meredith Townsend draws a needed lesson in this matter, from the situation which Grant Duff described as existing in Madras Presidency during his governorship. "This picture," writes Mr. Townsend, "that of a population of thirty-one millions in which the class most eager to be instructed, is when instructed sterile, is a painful one, and will be held by many minds to justify those, of whom the present writer was one, who, a generation ago, bestirred themselves to resist the idea of Macaulay, that culture should be diffused in India through English studies. They maintained that true instruction would never be gained by an Oriental people through a Western language, that education in English would be productive of nothing but a caste, who, like the 'scholars' of the Middle Ages, would be content with their own superiority, and would be more separated from the people than if they had been left uneducated; that, in short, English education, however far it might be pushed, would remain sterile. They pressed for the encouragement and development of the indigenous culture, and would have had High Schools and Universities, in which men should have studied, first of all, to perfect the languages, and literature, and knowledge of their own land. They fought hard, but they failed utterly, and we have the Babu, instead of the thoroughly instructed Pundit. They probably did not allow enough for the influence of time, and they certainly did not admire enough the few remarkable men whom the system had produced; but so far, they have been right, and they may be right throughout. English education in India may remain sterile for all national purposes." No tide of reform should lead us to forget that it is China that is to be taught, and that

it is still to be China after it is taught. (5) Higher education in some fields has bred parasitism, by raising up a class of men whom mission education had unfitted for agriculture or other work available outside of mission employment. "What would you have had me do?" a Nestorian asked me the other day, when I asked him why he had come to America. "The mission educated me so that I could not go back and be content in my village, and it had no work to give me." In India the result has been the same, but the government has done the thing on so grand a scale that the work of the mission colleges in the matter is dwarfed. Now, this will not be the result in China. The difficulty there will be not so much to supply mission employment for the best educated men, but to hold for mission work men who find opportunities for lucrative work or for influential foreign service on every side. Furthermore, this higher education in China is likely in the new era to bring into the Church a new type of Chinese hitherto little touched by Christianity,—the stronger, independent, masterful class. The problems of self-support and of native ecclesiastical independence will be powerfully affected by the introduction of this class. (6) The Chinese are less exacting over details than the Japanese. In their educational institutions it is probable that they will not hunger so for German bureaucratic inquisitiveness and officiousness. They will probably give room for much more aggressive Christian work in their own colleges, and come to mission colleges with less aversion to Christian teaching and influence. It is to be hoped that Christian education will not for the present at least be nagged and hedged in as the Japanese sought to worry and limit it in 1899. (7) Higher education in India and in Japan, in the

latter almost wholly in government institutions, has raised up a keener and more difficult class of antagonists. In Japan it has led men on to positions in advance of the ground of advanced thinkers at home. In India it has rehabilitated the old religious systems, stripped them of what is gross and indefensible, and enabled men to conceive their old religions sufficiently in the terms of Christian teaching to satisfy their consciences. It is true that education demolishes popular Hinduism, but it entrenches philosophic Hinduism in a position from which it seems impossible to dislodge it, a position so strong that its defenders press out upon the aggressive, and carry on an active propaganda in America. Now, higher education will simply demolish Chinese Buddhism and Taoism. Its wrestle will be with Confucianism. It may be maintained that what will be left of Confucianism in a man trained in one of the best Christian colleges in China, will not be a fraction as hostile to Christianity or as difficult of purification by it, and absorption in it, as what remains of Hinduism in the educated Vedantist in India.

I believe that with one exception those elements of the situation in China, which are peculiar and differentiating, are distinctly favourable. Perhaps I should even admit no exception. But the secular character of the Chinese warns us to be on our guard lest our education become commercial and materialistic; or if not these, lest it produce a cast of Christianity of an intellectual and moral type, devoid of deeper religious note. The gospel is already "daoli," "doctrine," with the Chinese, a body of objective doctrine rather than an inner transformation. Christ is the Truth rather than the Way and the Life. On this subject we have learned some things elsewhere that ought to be of help to us in China. And of these, the chief

is that missionary education should be thoroughly and unqualifiedly and powerfully Christian education. This was what it was under Duff in Calcutta, and the results were manifest. But now in India most missionaries are so absorbed in the technical educational work that the evangelistic character of the education suffers. Many of our schools in India are not carried on "as efficiently," to use the Rev. Henry Forman's words, "from a missionary standpoint as they are from an educational-department point of view." In consequence, partly only, however, because of this, and partly because of changed conditions like those due to the rise of the Samajes and Vedantism, missionary colleges in India do not yield the direct missionary results they once did. Dr. Murdock publishes, in his *Indian Missionary Manual,* a table showing that, in the different missionary institutions in Madras, for the years 1852-56, there were 39 baptisms; for the years 1856-61, there were 10 baptisms; for the years 1862-66, there were 5 baptisms; and for the years 1867-71, one baptism. To atone for the absorption of the missionary force in the educational side of the work, men like Principal Farquhar and Mr. Brockway have appealed for educational evangelists, missionaries who shall be attached to colleges and discharge toward the students the Christian duties which the educational missionaries are neglecting for reasons howsoever good and convincing. It is far better to have each teacher a missionary evangelist to his students, and the whole institution permeated through and through with aggressive effort to win men to the Christian faith. And no emphasis on self-support leading to the introduction of a class of students not disposed favourably to religion can justify our imperiling the real missionary character of our schools.

We have learned also in India, the danger of material and secular ends in mission education. As Principal Miller said in a paper on "Educational Agencies in Missions," read at the Congress of Missions in Chicago in 1893, "There is danger that the end may be sacrificed to the means. There is danger—already manifest to the clearer-sighted—lest advancement in education and the higher position to which education leads become the sole, or chief, objects of desire to Christians. The Church may be turned into a guild for the worldly welfare of its sons. Complaints are pretty often made which are really, though perhaps in part unconsciously, based on the idea that the Church ought to be a guild of this kind. But if this, or anything like this, is to be the practical result of what has been going on of late, it would be better that educational progress be even rudely checked." These general perils in missionary education have not been so escaped in India as to have enabled us to secure from our colleges the native workers we need. Very few of the graduates of our higher mission institutions have entered the ministry or evangelistic work, or even Christian educational work. On this account, Principal Allnutt has made a plea for a new and central institution from which such results might be expected, a Christian Training College. But it was to provide this that many of our institutions were established in the first place. Yet the defect at this point is a real one. The higher the education provided by missions, the smaller the product directly available for missionary work. The only way to meet all these difficulties is resolutely to refuse to subordinate the religious to the secular or material, to aim directly at the consciences of all the students and their development into Christian leaders, in the service either of

the mission, or of the native Church, or as independent professional men or tradesmen or in business. Mr. Peet, of Foochow, described clearly at the last meeting of the Educational Association of China, what this aim of our education should be: "The aim of our every effort should be, first and foremost, to give Christian knowledge to those who come as students under our influence. It will not be enough that we make scholars of them,—that we place them in positions far above their fellow-countrymen in their knowledge of mathematics and Western sciences,—but we should aim to make *Christian* scholars. It seems to me that as Christian missionaries it is not only our duty, but our privilege, to make this the one aim of all education. Such an aim will be unpopular. We need not expect to find in a heathen country like this, students thirsting after Christianity. Those who send their sons to our institutions send them for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of mathematics, Western sciences, and English,—things which have a commercial value. To them Christianity is a foreign religion, serving the same ends in barbarian countries as Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism do in this, and they do not desire its introduction. What now are we to do? Shall we do away entirely with religious instruction? We should then be false to our calling. Shall we take a moderate view of the matter,—give such instruction to those only who are willing to receive it and make the attendance at religious exercises voluntary on the part of the students? We should then, I fear, be in danger of giving to our students the impression that the acceptance of Christianity is, after all, not a matter of prime importance,—that it is a thing of little consequence, so long as they become scholars, what their religious beliefs may be.

We come to our students as representatives of Christianity. They come to us—or a great number of them do—as believers in non-Christian religions. Let us take care that our zeal for our beliefs be not overshadowed by their zeal for their beliefs. I heartily concur in the statement made this morning, that we must take care not to nauseate our students with our religion. But it seems to me the danger lies not in this direction, but in the opposite. I dare say there is not an institution represented here where the students at the present time stand in danger of getting too much religious instruction. I maintain that the Church has in its grasp a mighty power for good. Let us take care that we use this power to its fullest extent."

There is opportunity now for but a few words about some of the practical problems of the educational work in China. (1) Who should be educated? Not preachers or teachers only. The college should send out Christian leaders for all walks of life. Not Christians, only, for the college can be a powerful evangelistic agency to bring young men who enter it as heathen to Christ, and if some of these who enter it as heathen, pass through it and are not won to open confession of faith, they may still be useful to the mission cause, and may even come in later years to the faith of Christ. But two things need to be guarded here. (a) No pupils should be allowed to pass through our colleges whom we have not exhausted every resource to win to Christ, and (b) the number of non-Christian pupils should not be such as to give tone to the school or to imperil its Christian influence. (2) How large should our colleges be? That will depend upon the number of Christian instructors. The best schools for boys in the United States are strictly limited in numbers. Groton and Hotchkiss will not take

more than 150 boys, and they provide a master for each ten boys, holding that a head-master can not adequately handle more than 150, or a master properly influence an average of more than ten. If more are taken, it is at the expense of diminished personal control and of that influence to which spiritual results are due. (3) How much education should be given? As much as is required to produce the Christian leaders needed in the Church and country. That will mean more in one place than in another, and more ten years from now than now. But the work must be thorough. "No matter how great may be the religious influence brought to bear," says the Rev. W. M. Hayes, D.D., one of the best educators in China, "or the amount of religious instruction given, unless its graduates are fair scholars, a school will not command respect, nor will its influence be widely felt." (4) Should this education be given? The point is not "that in a mission school self-support does not of itself constitute a sufficient reason for conforming the course of study to the commercial demands of the hour." That is an obvious truism. The point is that that should not be done for people which they are able to do and should do for themselves. President Hadley, in his inaugural at Yale, declared that "aid in education if given without exacting a corresponding return becomes demoralizing." But the principle is not different from the principle in life elsewhere. There may be many cases where education should be given with absolute freedom. But the rule should certainly be that some payment, however small, should be made in money or in labour, and that just as large a portion of the cost of the education should be borne by the people as can be laid upon them without sacrificing the purposes of the institution

as a mission agency. (5) Should our colleges be organized under separate Boards of Directors in America, independent of the Mission Boards, or be held in the same relation to the Boards which other departments of the work sustain? Experience has shown that the chief advantage of the former course is the enlistment of the interest of large givers through their assumption of special responsibility. And often this has not been secured. Where it cannot be, the simple, rational and effective course is to retain the college under the direct control of the Mission Board.

In the present educational situation in China, the Mission Boards have an opportunity which it is not only legitimate, but their solemn duty, to use. It would not be right to withdraw men from direct evangelistic work to put them in schools, but it would be wrong to let this huge power slip out of our hands. At the same time, it will be far better for us to do a little of this work perfectly, than a great deal of it indifferently. It will be a greater thing to develop a thousand thoroughly qualified men, solidly trained, sincerely converted, to lead the new Church and the new China, than ten thousand hastily educated, inadequately equipped men in whom Christianity has not struck deep, and who will come sooner or later, to their place in hong and customs house and subordinate clerkships. To do this greater thing, we need a few schools of the best quality, pervaded and utterly dominated by the spirit of intense devotion and evangelism.

XX

TRUTH OR TOLERANCE?

AT the close of a missionary meeting in a New Jersey town some time ago, a young man came up to me and asked: "Have you seen Bishop Potter's articles in *The Churchman* in which he defends Hinduism and denies the charges made against it by missionaries and others? They are sure to do harm," he added. "A lady told me the other day that they represented the true view. When I told her that those who had lived in India did not think so, she replied that Bishop Potter was a great man, and could see in a month what others could not see in many years." I think this young man overestimated the harm to missions that any articles of Bishop Potter's are likely to do, and whether they harm the mission cause or not is a secondary question. If Bishop Potter's view of Hinduism is correct and harmful to missions, so much the worse for missions. The question is not as to the effect, but as to the reliability of Bishop Potter's representation.

On the face of it, Bishop Potter's view seems large-minded and tolerant, just such a view as any man would like to take. No one surely can find any pleasure in condemning the opinions and practices of his fellow-creatures. Every Christian man must want to discover all the good he can in the non-Christian religions and people. And that there is good, surely no one will deny. Bishop Potter exaggerates the amount of narrowness and uncharitableness with which the mass of people view the Eastern religions. Indeed, most people think they are good enough.

But no amount of desire to be charitable and large-minded can justify neglect of facts. I shall call attention to some things which were not brought to Bishop Potter's notice in India, and which have evidently escaped his thought in reading about the Hindu people and their religion. It is surprising that these things have escaped Bishop Potter's attention, and it is unfortunate on many accounts. It is the more surprising, because the issue on which he has compared Hinduism and Christianity is the very one on which it is almost inconceivable that he should have failed to get fairly accurate information, and the one, furthermore, on which comparison is most damaging to Hinduism.

At first sight, Bishop Potter's information seems unimpeachable. He appeals to his knowledge of the family life of those in whose homes he was entertained, and who gave him chapter and verse in their sacred writings for what they told him, and then he proceeds to quote from their testimonies. Bishop Potter's hosts were, as he says, Buddhist, Mohammedan and Parsee. The sacred writings from which he quotes are the laws of Manu. How Bishop Potter came to make such a curious slip is unintelligible. What do Buddhists, Mohammedans and Parsees have to do with or care for the laws of Manu? They are Hindu documents, having nothing whatever to do with the life or customs of Buddhists, Mohammedans or Parsees.

Furthermore, Bishop Potter says in his articles that from the laws of Manu he takes those "laws which define the place of woman in the economy of East-Indian life," and he quotes eight sentences representing a worthy view of woman. He does not indicate that there are any laws of a contrary character. The

sentences quoted give a misleading and untrue impression as to the legislation of Manu regarding woman. That legislation is utterly one-sided and its tenor is precisely the opposite of Bishop Potter's representation. Woman is set by it in the place of complete subjection, and the prevailing ideal is contemptuous: "Woman is unworthy of confidence, and the slave of passion." "One should not eat with his wife." "Whether of bad conduct or debauched, or even devoid of good qualities, a husband must always be served like a god by a good wife." "Day and night should women be kept by the male members of the family in a state of dependence." "It is the nature of women in this world to cause men to sin." A later code declares, "A woman is not to be relied on." Bishop Potter has appealed from the practice of the people to their laws. The appeal does not justify the implication of his article that the current representation of the inferior position of woman in India is incorrect. If he had gathered in India the proverbs of the people about woman, he would have seen clearly the unworthiness of the national conception. Take these Tamil proverbs as illustration:

"What is that poison which appears like nectar? Woman."

"What is the chief gate to hell? Woman."

"What is cruel? The heart of a viper. What is more cruel? The heart of a woman. What is most cruel of all? The heart of a soulless, penniless widow."

"He is a fool who considers his wife as his friend."

"Educating a woman is like putting a knife into the hands of a monkey."

Bishop Potter makes mention of child marriage,

Suttee, or widow-burning, and the ignorance and seclusion of women in India as traditions, in which he and the rest of us were brought up, and says that our popular impressions of them are often grotesque distortions or exaggerations of the facts. And he quotes with approval Swami Abhedananda, who has been lecturing in Carnegie Hall. It may be that there are wrong notions on these subjects in America, but the facts are bad enough.

First, as to Suttee, Bishop Potter quotes Abhedananda as declaring that "the self-burning of widows was not sanctioned by the Hindu religion, but was due to other causes, the fact being that when Mohammedans conquered India they treated the widows of the soldiers so brutally that the women preferred death, and voluntarily sought it. It is often said that the 'Christian government' has suppressed 'Suttee;' but the truth is that the initiative in this direction was taken by that noble Hindu, Ram Mohun Roy, who was, however, obliged to secure the aid of the British Government in enforcing his ideas, because India was a subject nation. . . . The evil was practically suppressed by the Hindus themselves, aided by the British Government." There are five misleading statements here. Bishop Potter says he has not heard them challenged, but that must be because he has not found opportunity to read extensively about India. The facts are (1) that while the early Aryans were not guilty of widow-burning, it became a real part of the Hindu religious system. It was declared "as long as a woman shall not burn herself after the death of her husband, she shall be subject to transmigration in a female form." In the code of Hindu laws drawn up in the eighteenth century for the guidance of judges, it is said: "It is

proper for a woman after her husband's death to burn herself with his corpse. Every woman who thus burns herself shall remain in Paradise with her husband 350,000,000 of years of destiny." (2) The claim that it was due to the cruelty of the Mohammedans is nonsense, totally unsupported by historical evidence. Widow-burning was practiced in India centuries before Mohammed was born, while "the Mohammedan rulers," says the Abbe Dubois in *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies,* "never tolerated this horrible practice in the provinces subject to them." (3) The agitation for the abolition of Suttee was begun by Carey and his fellow-missionaries. Their protest was the first official notice regarding Suttee ever placed on the records of the Government. In twenty-five years there were 70,000 cases of widow-burning. At last, in 1829, Lord William Bentinck abolished it. (4) The Hindu people and priests bitterly opposed its abolition. They got up a petition signed, if Mrs. Fuller's statement is correct, by 18,000 people contending "that the act of the Suttee was not only a sacred duty, but an exalted privilege, denouncing the prohibition as a breach of the promise that there should be no interference with the religious customs of the Hindus, and begging for its restoration." (5) Ram Mohun Roy did render great service in the matter. He opposed the practice in India, and he was in England when this memorial of the Hindus was presented, and gave his influence to secure the affirmation of Lord William Bentinck's act of abolition by the Government in London. But Ram Mohun Roy was a rebel against orthodox Hindu custom. It is ludicrous to anyone who knows the history of Hindu reform to credit Hinduism with the revolutionary protests of Ram Mohun Roy against the abuses and wrongs

which had become lodged in it. Ram Mohun Roy's attitude was the result of Christianity and Christian missions.

Second, as to child marriage and the condition of widows. Bishop Potter quotes as reliable Abhedananda's declarations that Hinduism distinctly forbids child marriage, that "in many parts of India" it is only betrothal, and that the Hindu law does not prevent the marriage of the betrothed wife after the death of the betrothed husband. Abhedananda admits that "many abuses have crept in, and child-wives are often given to their husbands at too early an age." As we listen to Bishop Potter's *alteram partem* in this matter, he seems to acknowledge all that many "traditions" at least have included on this subject. But Abhedananda's admission is true, and his other declarations are not. (1) The laws of Manu declare, "At thirty years of age a man may marry a beloved girl of twelve years, or if he is thrice eight years, he may marry a girl of eight years." Gautama's *Institute of the Sacred Law* declares: "A girl should be given in marriage before she attains the age of puberty. He who neglects it commits sin." The *Dayabhaga* declares: "A girl should be given in marriage before her breasts swell." These passages are all cited in *The Women of India,* a book to which Bishop Potter seems to have had access, for he quotes a long passage from it immediately after his citation on this subject from Swami Abhedananda. It ought perhaps to be noted that Bishop Potter says of his quotation from *The Women of India,* "the following remarks are abridged from *The Women of India.*" On the contrary, he quotes without any abridgment. The passage, however, is introduced in *The Women of India* with the statement: "The following remarks are

abridged from the Rev. T. E. Slater." It is a trifling thing, but Bishop Potter has not been careful in these articles either in small matters or great. (2) Early marriage is not simply early betrothal. It is that sometimes. But the horrors of child marriage have existed and do exist. The Hon. Mohendra Lal Sircar, M.D., testified that from his medical observation during thirty years he believed "twenty-five per cent. of Hindu women died prematurely through early marriage, twenty-five per cent. more were invalided by the same cause, and the vast majority of the remainder suffered in health from it." Did Bishop Potter never hear of the terrible memorial presented to the British Government in India ten years ago by fifty-five women doctors who told what they knew on this subject, or does he not believe them? "I look upon the system of child marriage," says Mr. Munmohan Ghose, "as the greatest curse of our country." (3) It is true that the Vedas do not prohibit widow marriage, but Manu says it is unlawful for a woman to mention the name of another man after her husband's death; and later custom and religious legislation have forbidden the remarriage of widows, and the act of Lord Canning in 1856 legalizing it, proved a dead letter. The widow who remarries forfeits all property inherited from her husband "as if she had then died," and she goes in the face of the terrible condemnation of orthodox Hindu opinion. And the lot of the Hindu widow is so pitiable and appealing that it is hard to read Bishop Potter's light and authoritative dismissal of the "traditions" regarding her. Perhaps it may be allowable to set in opposition to his easy judgment the words of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, who spoke with passion to be sure, and not without exaggeration, but

with a life-long knowledge of what he spoke about: "An adequate idea of the intolerable hardships of early widowhood can be formed by those only whose daughters, sisters, daughters-in-law and other female relations have been deprived of their husbands during infancy. When men are void of pity and compassion, of a perception of right and wrong, of good and evil, and when men consider the observance of mere forms as the highest of duties and the greatest of virtues, in such a country would that women were never born! Woman! in India thy lot is cast in misery!"

Third, as to the seclusion and ignorance of women. Bishop Potter calls these also a tradition about which our popular impressions are grotesque and exaggerated. Well, what are the facts? According to the census of 1891, the illiterate females were 99.52 of the total female population. It is simply trifling to speak of being entertained in fine Parsee homes as an offset to these facts of ignorance among Hindu women. The Parsees are absolutely distinct. "There is obviously no analogy between their case," says *The India Census Report,* "and that of a vast and heterogeneous population that has grown up within the country itself and has by gradual and historical process, not by imitation or foreign impulse, hemmed itself in by centuries of the most exclusive prejudice and invincible custom the world has ever seen." I doubt if anyone is more astonished or indignant at Bishop Potter's articles than Miss Sorabji, a daughter of a famous Parsee family in Bombay, now in America. And as for the character of the seclusion of women, Keshub Chunder Sen's testimony is not to be brushed away so cavalierly. "Look at yourselves, enchained to customs, deprived of freedom, lorded over by an ignorant and crafty priesthood, your better

sense and better feelings all smothered under the crushing weight of custom. Look at your homes, scenes of indescribable misery; your wives and sisters, your mothers and daughters, immured within the dungeon of the zenana; ignorant of the outside world, little better than slaves, whose charter of liberty of thought and action has been ignored." Of course Keshub Chunder Sen was a reformer, and his speech is Oriental, but Mr. Kipling is scarcely calmer.

It is a great pity that Bishop Potter did not meet Ramabai. An article on the position of woman in India that does not mention Ramabai, but cites Swami Abhedananda as chief witness, is, to say the least, curious. But Bishop Potter has in these articles a strange taste in selecting witnesses. Isaac Taylor, who is his sole witness on Islam, was thoroughly discredited within a year after the appearance of his astonishing attacks on Christian Missions to Mohammedans, and on the Church Missionary Society. Regarding Islam, however, Bishop Potter on his own authority declares that, "Mohammedanism in Oriental lands does control the vice of drunkenness." Alas, it does not. As the *Evening Post* said in a recent review: "No student of Moslem history and literature can have failed to see how dead a letter is the statute against the use of intoxicating drink. The passages in the Koran supposed to forbid it are ambiguous, and the legal praxis is so arranged that a conviction is next to impossible. For example, the addition of water to wine makes it legal." Persia and Turkey are full of evidence that flatly contradicts Bishop Potter. The saloons of Teheran were once ordered by the Shah to close. But who secured the order? Mohammedan mollahs? Not a bit of it. It was accomplished by one Christian missionary.

I venture to add a word of protest against the easy reply that may be made to attempts to get at the truth in this matter. Prejudice may be charged. But that is an unfair reply. It is not prejudice to seek the exact truth. Of course one is tempted in these days to take a generous, large-minded and tolerant attitude toward contrary opinion and practice. But after all, inaccuracy and superficiality of judgment is not large-minded. The only worthy judgment is the judgment that is true and just, and that, while kind and pitiful, will not slur over the truth or disbelieve it because it is unpleasant.

The right attitude and judgment for us as Christians to take toward the non-Christian religions has already been discussed. But one point of radical distinction between Hinduism and Christianity which is not noted in Bishop Potter's papers should be mentioned again. Indeed, Bishop Potter by implication denies it, when he deprecates our judgment of Hinduism by its degraded practice, and calls us back to one-sided quotations from sacred books. Truly every religion should be judged by its best as well as its worst. But the worst of Hinduism is sanctioned and sanctified in its sacred books. Its vilest practices are in the name and under the formal approval of religion. Sir Charles Trevelyan once testified before a Parliamentary Committee that when, with some others, he joined to form a society to put down cruel native practices, and they went into the subject, they found "that all these practices were so mixed up with the Hindu religious system, and grew so directly out of it, that nothing short of the conversion of the natives to Christianity would effect any real moral change." Here our religion sanctions no moral evil or wrong. The worst of India is its religion. The

best of America is its religion. To compare the two, as is done in the articles under review, is misleading and unjust. The view which these articles present is not a true view. And truth is the supreme thing. Whether it is fatal to Christian missions on one side, or to an easy-going and unstudying tolerance on the other is of little consequence. What is the truth? In his goodness of heart toward what he thinks has been misjudged, and in his own superficial judgment of " India, its People and its Religions," Bishop Potter unwittingly missed an opportunity to serve the truth, and equally unwittingly has ministered to error.

XXI

SOME MISSIONARY ASPECTS OF PAUL'S FIRST ITINERATION

1. BECAUSE the missionary spirit was in the Antioch church missionaries went out from it. And the effect of their going was surely a deepening of interest in the church (Acts xiv. 27). It is not at all surprising that the missionary movement originated here. The great evangelization which resulted from the scattering of Christians after the death of Stephen, confined itself to Jews until it came to Antioch. There the gospel was offered to Greeks also. How could these Greeks feel the joys of the gospel without desiring to see it spread among Greeks generally, and without feeling an obligation to spread it? The modern evasions and sophistries, the "Corban" devices of to-day, had not been invented yet, and the fundamental immorality of an un-missionary church was an undiscussed axiom to sincere believers. Furthermore, Barnabas was fortunately sent from Jerusalem to examine the new movement, and he was not of the timid and reluctant temper. He joyfully fed the warmth of the Greek believers in Antioch. Once again, it is evident that this church from the outset made a great deal of Christ. Here first the name was fixed upon believers. Where men made so much of Him, there was sure to be a missionary outburst. The home life of the Antioch church, also, seems to have been organized on foundations of wide sympathy. The list of prophets and teachers appears to indicate an absence of those social and racial prejudices (Acts

xiii. 1) which always kill the missionary spirit. Add to this, that the Antioch Christians were given to fasting and prayer, and we have the condition in which the missionary call and the voice of the Holy Spirit saying, "Separate me my men," a call and a voice always sounding but not always heard, could be discerned and would be obeyed. The beginning of missions confirms the experience of missions in all ages. Given a missionary church or body of believers, and a foreign mission is the inevitable consequence. If the mission, or an attempt at it, is lacking, it is proof that the Spirit is lacking in the church.

2. The money problem is not mentioned, nor is anything said of organization. God and men, men and God—that is all. That is always all. Money and machinery are secondary to-day as they were then. We are guilty of distortion and distrust and atheism when we put them first. But simple as was the sending out of these first missionaries, it does not follow that now the wise thing is for each local church to act in the independent fashion of the church at Antioch, and select and commission and send out its own representatives. It would be easy to relate stories of the dismal failure and wrong of some experiments of this sort. In our sense of words, this first foreign mission was not a foreign mission at all. The missionaries went among their own people. They never went out of the bounds of their own government, and they learned no new language, tried no new climate, touched no foreign land. It was a deputation rather than a mission. The real lesson for us is not a lesson of rigid method, but a suggestion of principle, namely, that by the methods which experience has approved, each church should be in vital contact with the missionary enterprise and participating in it. The method

of the sending forth of these first missionaries is not a reflection on modern missionary organizations. It is significant that those societies and missions which seem to emphasize most the call of the Spirit, are the most highly organized and the most authoritatively governed.

3. This itineration was a modest venture, a preliminary trial, a testing of wings. The missionaries turned first naturally to territory which Barnabas knew. He had lived in Cyprus, owned property there, and personally possessed influence that made their visit to the island a matter of no great risk. Here they went first to Jews, as had been and was still to be for some time the almost invariable evangelistic rule. Even on this trip, however, a gleam of the wider mission came to them. The Jews came first of necessity, the missionaries felt and said that they felt, but the gospel was for Gentiles too (Acts xiii. 46, 47). And when they reported to the home church on their return, the dominant impression of the itineration evidently was that God "had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles" (Acts xiv. 27). The mission revealed itself, and fed the spirit which had created it.

4. The missionaries moved. It had required persecution to stir up the Jerusalem believers. But now men had been raised up with the spirit of the great commission in their blood. They were going men. If rejected, they went on (Acts xiii. 50, 51). They were not afraid of persecution. They took it when it came in the line of their duty, but also they had no hesitation in running away from it (Acts xiv. 5). If it was necessary to be beaten, they bore it joyfully; but Paul had no principle against going down over walls to escape danger (Acts ix. 25), or leaving places which were too hot. Still, they came right

back to these places on this trip. If they fled, it was not from fear, and if they returned, it was not from hardihood. They went in the way of duty. That was all. If missionaries in China could do no good by staying in interior towns during the Boxer troubles, and only imperilled the Chinese converts by remaining, it was their duty, following Paul's example, to leave. If their remaining at their post and accepting death would have helped the cause, they would have done right to stay, and those who did stay, did what Paul would have done in their place.

5. The missionaries did not move just for the sake of moving. Itineration with them was not mere travel or sight-seeing. It was hard, well-directed preaching. To do this work thoroughly they retraced their steps (Acts xiv. 21) even to Lystra and Iconium, where they had been rejected, and whence they had fled. Those missionaries in China who after the troubles returned to their stations, some of them before even the consuls were ready to encourage them, also were following Paul's example. On this itineration the missionaries did more than just "herald" the gospel. They organized the believers. The organization was very flexible and simple. No priests were set over the little companies to exercise authority by virtue of apostolic succession. All was life and motion and freedom. Neither did Barnabas and Paul employ a helper and place him over the group. They hit upon a perfectly simple, natural, self-supporting arrangement, designed to secure liberty, growth and the sense of responsibility. Fuller developments would come later, but this was enough for the beginning. Perhaps if Paul had had no results of his work he might have employed a different method. But he had results, and this was the way he took care of them.

6. The sole reliance of the missionaries was the gospel (Acts xiv. 21). They had absolutely no ulterior inducements to offer. No social, educational or philanthropic advantages had been evolved which could act as attractions to draw the people toward Christianity. It was not yet a proscribed religion. Its relation to the government and the imperial court had not been defined. But if not under the ban, there was nothing to commend it but its spiritual efficiency and its response to the deepest needs of human hearts. Paul did some signs and wonders (Acts xiv. 3, 10; xiii. 11), but one of them made them more trouble than it did good, and on the contrary side he assured believers that tribulation was in store for them (Acts xiv. 22). Many a modern missionary has wished that he was as free from the financial, political and social entanglements of Christianity in his enterprise, that he might deal with men on spiritual ground alone. The penalty of the long postponement of the evangelization of the world is twofold—(1) the social and racial chasm between Christians and heathen has become terrible in its width and depth and permanence, and (2) Christianity has come to terms with culture, commerce and politics, so that it is well-nigh impossible to disengage it and present it to the world as Paul was free to present it to Gentile and Jew in the first generation.

7. Moreover, the preparation of the Jews for Christianity had been as well done as could be—where the condition was the resultant of the forces of the loving will of God and the recalcitrant and obstinate obduracy of Israel. There was, however, an audience ready, a place provided for Christianity to take hold (Acts xiii. 14, 15, 43, 44; xiv. 1). On the other hand, it was from the Jews also that the first opposition

came (Acts xiii. 45, 50; xiv. 2, 5, 19). The uncertainties of the situation, the experimental nature of the work among both Jews and Gentiles, accounts for the fact that the message to both (Acts xiii. 16-41; xiv. 15-17) was less sharp and cleanly adaptive than it soon became.

8. A noble picture of true missionary wisdom and consecration is presented in the course of Barnabas. As he and Paul met their new problems and did their new work, the older man began to shift the responsibilities to the shoulders of the younger, whose capacities he had long before foreseen. He pushes him forward, does not quarrel with his growing prominence, happily slips into the second place after their visit to Antioch in Pisidia, and finds his joy in the increasing power of Paul. Here is the picture of a large-natured, fine-spirited, sagacious man, doing the greatest work of his life in developing Paul and lovingly shaping his growth. The man who could bear himself thus was a good man. He was even a great man. There is room in every age for missionaries of this spirit, who see ability in others, and who lay themselves out to develop it, and who then can rejoice in it without jealousy.

9. It is rather consoling to have evidence enough that missionary work in the first days was not free from the same problems which vex us. Young men then turned back from the work as they do now. The defection of John Mark is an interesting subject for study and speculation (Acts xii. 12, 15; xiii. 5, 13; xv. 37, 38). It is easy to imagine reasons for his course. It is perhaps enough to suggest that he was with Barnabas and Paul merely as an attendant. He was not included in the specification of the Holy Ghost in Acts xiii. 2. You cannot expect from men

more than you lay on men. The best way to get spiritual service is to charge with spiritual responsibility. Many enterprises have lost good men through not having given them duty and recognition enough. Some have surmised that John Mark left out of disgust at Paul's supersession of his kinsman, Barnabas. Whatever the reason, there was friction, and at the beginning of Paul's second itineration it involved him and Barnabas, and led to a rupture. The difference of opinion between them was sharp and decisive. Paul thought Mark was not plucky enough for missionary work, and Barnabas wanted to try him again. He saw good in him, as he had seen in Paul; and when others distrusted him, as they had Paul, Barnabas thought there was hope. Possibly Gal. ii. 13, which records a time of wavering on the part of Barnabas with reference to principles which Paul regarded as vital, may help to explain this breach. At any rate they parted, and there is no record of their meeting again. But Paul always remembered Barnabas kindly, and by and by he came around to Barnabas's view of Mark. In Col. iv. 10, he commends him as a relative of Barnabas, and he finds at last the good in him which the tolerant generosity of the "Son of Consolation" had seen in him from the beginning (Philemon 24; II Tim. iv. 11). In I. Cor. ix 6, Paul mentions Barnabas honourably, implying that he was still at work, unmarried, and toiling with his own hands. Perhaps the rupture was for the best. Perhaps it helped John Mark to see his failings. Perhaps the gospel was more widely preached because of it, and love survived it, as it always does with true men. We must believe, therefore, that it was not a rupture of the friendship; that like every true friendship, this one outlived a difference of opinion, and

sweetened the lives of the friends to the end, and after the end. There is this pleasant feature about the separation also. It resulted in two itinerations rather than in one. When missionary controversies result in resignations and withdrawals from the work there is reason for suspicion; but we can endure them when, as in these early days, they doubled the volume of the work, and after all, left no permanent ill-feeling behind.

10. The great problem which shook the Early Church became more clearly defined on this tour. That problem of the relation of the Gentile converts to the Jewish law, and in consequence, the relation of the Jewish Christians themselves to their institutions, had to be settled. These first missionaries did well to perceive this. There is nothing gained and much lost by slurring over in mission work the inevitable issues and collisions which must arise. These must be dealt with in the spirit of love, but also in the spirit of firmness and of a sound mind. Missions do not rest upon a maudlin erasure of all lines of distinct opinion of truth, and the purchase of good feeling by the surrender of principle to sentimental slovenliness. They involve the fierce clash of truth and error. These early missionary days show how much better it is to have the issue clear and naked, and to settle it with sharp and positive finality if it be possible.

XXII

SOME MISSIONARY ASPECTS OF PAUL'S SECOND ITINERATION

IN all effective mission work supervision is as essential as inauguration. It is necessary to sow the seed, but only an indolent and shiftless husbandman will take no heed of its growth. Paul was aware of this. His purpose in his second mission tour was to visit the stations he had established, to see how the converts were getting along, to examine their organization, and to confirm the groups of believers in their new faith (Acts xv. 36, 41; xvi. 5). He had a similar purpose in beginning his third itineration (Acts xviii. 23). Three of the many characteristics of Paul's work of missionary supervision and itineration may be indicated. (1) It was very fraternal in spirit. It was the "brethren" who were to be visited, rather than the "native converts." To be sure the latter term had no existence. There was no such racial chasm between Paul and his converts as exists to-day between the missionary and his; but even if here to-day, Paul, like all good modern missionaries, would look upon the fruits of his work as "brethren," and visit them in this spirit. (2) The note of authority, of domination is not present in Luke's statement of Paul's suggestion to Barnabas. He proposed not that they should go out to correct and rebuke. There was place for this as Paul abundantly recognized. But his idea of the journey was to confer, to see how the believers fared, and to confirm. (3) There was no needless haste. When the tour developed beyond its original purpose, and became not

a revisitation but an opening up of new fields, Paul did not hurry. He tarried eighteen months at Corinth. He had no station or home responsibilities which hampered him. He was free to follow his opportunities, and was not tied down by local or institutional responsibilities. There is no greater need on the mission field to-day than for just the kind of work Paul did on this great itineration, whereon the results so amply justified the method. Paul's first letters written on this tour, grew out of the same general plan. He wrote to the Thessalonian Christians to say what he would have said personally could he have visited them then. Supervision by correspondence is as common and necessary to-day, and Paul's models are still unsurpassed for missionary tact and comprehensiveness.

2. On the tour and in its greatest crisis we see the hard sound sense of the Apostle. He was working through what we now call Asia Minor, and his path was determined by indications of the Spirit, not as to what he should do, but as to what he should not do. The Spirit forbade work in Asia. He tried Bithynia, and was again blocked. So he came down to Troas through walls of negative guidance (Acts xvi: 6-8). Paul did not say: "I will wait till I feel a call." He pressed ahead until he was obstructed. There is a deal too much lethargic waiting for divine guidance, when what God is wanting is to see some sign of life and movement to guide. You can steer a moving, but not a motionless ship. Doubtless a man may bustle about so in his own fussy plans as to be in no fit condition to hear divine counsel or to seek it; but there is no warrant in Paul's method for the course of those who dislike to move toward the foreign field unless compelled from without.

At the end of this hedging in and hedging off, Paul got some positive leading; but even then his conclusion of duty was an inference. He interpreted his dream in the spirit of his life. He was a going man and he was looking for beckonings. Some modern evader would have called it a dream, and pronounced it utterly insufficient reason for any serious forward step.

Ramsay thinks the Macedonian whom Paul saw was Luke. How otherwise could Paul know it was a Macedonian than by recognizing a Macedonian acquaintance? There was nothing peculiar in the dress of the Macedonians, and Luke was probably the only Macedonian he knew. "We can imagine," says Ramsay, "how Paul came to Troas, in doubt as to what should be done. As a harbour it formed the link between Asia and Macedonia. Here he met the Macedonian Luke; and with his view turned onwards he slept, and beheld in a vision his Macedonian acquaintance beckoning him onward to his own country." *

3. The fruits of the missionary journey were far greater than Paul himself could have foreseen or dreamed. He could dream duty, but not the consequences of doing it. There were of course, immediate results in the conversion of souls, and the organization of churches. Paul did not distrust the results because they were immediate. Again and again hearers who accepted the first message or who had heard little more, were baptized. To be sure these people had in the main already been schooled into the theistic faith of the Hebrews, or had been brought up in it; but they could scarcely have been better subjects than some missionary converts of to-day;—the converts from the degraded Christian Churches of Asia for example.

* *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, p. 203.

The only reason for probation of professed converts on mission fields to-day was totally absent, namely, the necessity of testing motives lest the desire for baptism spring from ulterior purpose or search for gain. The change has been due to the present identification of the Christian propaganda with financial and political power. Our propaganda is from above down. Then it was from below up. There are some who feel that this is a gain. Probably Paul would not wholly agree with them. Not only, further, did he baptize at once, but he baptized by families, apparently accepting the faith of the head of the family as extending its efficacy over all. Doubtless the family shared, but the story of Philippi evidently intends to set forth the significance of the family baptism. The social organization in many Asiatic lands makes this principle a very real principle now. Thus a missionary writes from India:

"During the past year I have baptized but few people, in all only four families, out of regard to the Synod's instructions. Those instructions were that as a rule only those adults should be baptized who are deemed fit to be admitted to the Lord's Supper. There is no doubt in the mind of anyone in our two Missions who is engaged in this work where family movements are taking place, that to strictly observe these directions would be to incalculably injure the work. It is usually impossible to instruct the women of a family sufficiently to admit of their being rightly admitted to the Lord's Supper by the time the head of the house is ready. Moreover, it is usually the case that some members of the family will probably never come to the Lord's Table, as in the case with most families in our Church in America. We must then choose between baptizing families on the faith of the head of the family, which is, I believe, as Scriptural as it seems

to me wise, or having no Christian community, but only scattered individuals. We cannot follow implicitly the Synod's directions, unless we abdicate our own convictions to an extent we unanimously adjudge most evil when required by Papacy, and we will not do it when it means killing or at best seriously crippling the work that is opening before us. Yet the caution, conveyed too forcibly in the Synod's action, was needed and opportune, and I believe the following the spirit of that action during the past year has been of great benefit to our work. With the exception of the few already noted, I am still postponing the baptism of all applicants until the heads of families at least are fairly instructed, and give proof of both a sincere and intelligent receiving of Christ and the gospel—though the 'intelligent' reception can only be very elementary."

Women are conspicuous among the results of Paul's work (Acts xvi: 13-16; xvii: 4, 12, 34). Their special sympathy with the gospel message is not new in our day.

4. The great results of this tour, however, were the wider opening of the door of faith to the Gentiles, and the introduction of Christianity into Europe. Paul's realization of the width of the gospel's mission grew clear and strong, and with this, his mighty purpose to spread it over the whole Roman Empire. Before he had finished this tour he had declared to the Jews, "as he shook out his raiment," "Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean; from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles" (Acts xviii: 5).

It must be admitted that there was in Paul's mind no such idea of crisis, or of pregnant significance as we now see in his crossing the Hellespont and planting the gospel on the soil of Europe. "A broad dis-

tinction between the two opposite sides of the Hellespont as belonging to two different continents had no existence in the thought of those who lived in the Ægean lands, and regarded the sea as the path connecting the Ægean countries with each other; and the distinction had no more existence in a political point of view, for Macedonia and Asia were merely two provinces of the Roman Empire, closely united by common language and character, and divided from the Latin-speaking provinces further west." * It was God, not Paul, who planned the westward movement of Christianity, with a view to the far forward countries.

But Paul was already thinking of the Empire and this tour developed that thought into a masterful plan and ambition. He "mentions in writing to the Romans, xv: 24, that he intended to go on from Rome to Spain. Such an intention implies in the plainest way an idea already existent in Paul's mind of Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire. Spain was by far the most thoroughly Romanized district of the Empire, as was marked soon after by the act of Vespasian in 75, when he made the Latin status universal in Spain. From the centre of the Roman world Paul would go on to the chief seat of Roman civilization in the West, and would thus complete a first survey, the intervals of which should be filled up by assistants, such as Timothy, Titus, etc." †

5. A part of Paul's missionary method illustrated and confirmed by this itineration, was to go directly to the main cities. The cities were the centres of influence. The people were in them, and doubtless then

* Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citzen*, p. 109.

† Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, p. 255.

as in some lands now, there was less espionage, less subjection to priest and tradition, more freedom of movement and opinion in the cities than in country villages. At any rate, Paul was but one, and his reliable associates were few now, and not numerous even later (Col. iv: 11; Phil. ii: 21), and he could not afford to waste time on good work when better could be done, or on a few when he could reach the world. Doubtless the spirit of fearless warfare which always inspired Paul was with him in this; and feeling that Christianity held the sole and indispensable secret of life, he longed to match it against the strongest forces in the world. Have we the same faith? He faced the whole world with nothing but the gospel, and feared nothing. We face half the world with the gospel and the other half of the world, and are afraid.

6. Nor did persecutions destroy his confidence or shake his purpose. He anticipated these. He met Jewish opposition which took matters into its own hands (Acts xvii: 5), and other Jewish opposition which tried to induce Roman authority to curb him (Acts xviii: 12), and he encountered also direct Roman opposition (Acts xvi: 20, 21). Two points may be suggested. (1) Paul appealed in Philippi to his rights of Roman citizenship (Acts xvi: 37-39). He had been wronged and he refused to ignore it. He insisted that the prætors should themselves come to the prison and make amends. It is hair-splitting to attempt to exclude from Paul's behaviour at this time a recognition of principles which amply justify, by Pauline precedent, the use by missionaries to-day of their political rights for their defence, when such defence is advantageous to the cause for which they are bound to live or die as it requires. (2) The decision of Gallio in the persecution case in Corinth, went far

to settle Paul in his conviction that the evangelization of the Empire was possible. That judgment, as Ramsay says, "seems to have been the crowning fact in determining Paul's line of conduct." And he adds: "According to our view, the residence at Corinth was an epoch in Paul's life. As regards his doctrine he became more clearly conscious of its character, as well as more precise and definite in his presentation of it; and as regards practical work he became more clear as to his aim and the means of attaining the aim, namely, that Christianity should be spread through the civilized, i. e., the Roman, world (not as excluding, but as preparatory to, the entire world, Col. iii: 11), using the freedom of speech which the Imperial policy as declared by Gallio, seemed inclined to permit."

8. Paul learned a great lesson on this trip as to the nature and limits of conciliation in presenting the gospel. The tour began with the conciliatory circumcision of Timothy, whose father was a Greek, and who, according to Paul's doctrine as presented in the Galatian Epistle, and indeed, according to the decree of the Jerusalem Council need not have been circumcised at all. And at first Paul took pains everywhere in loyalty to the Council to deliver and emphasize the decrees from Jerusalem. As he began to see, however, the ministry of larger freedom and as the history of the Galatian Christians, and his own experience showed him the awful peril and burden of the Jewish law, he moved away from circumcision and the decrees, and preached a gospel of liberty. And later on this tour, he was less zealous to deal softly with the prejudices of the Jews than he had been at the beginning. At Corinth he flouted his skirts in the face of his opposers, and, cast out of the synagogue, he established his headquarters next door, with the former

ruler of the synagogue who had joined him, as one of his chief assistants. But he still strove in every honest way to reach Jews (Acts xviii: 19), and indeed, his arrest in Jerusalem which led to his appeal to Rome was due to his further attempt to pursue a course of conciliation coming close to a surrender of his principles (Acts xxi: 17-30).

And Paul got experience on the subject of adaptation and conciliation in his relations to Gentiles also. His first notable contact as a missionary with the Gentile world was at Athens. Here in a remarkable address he preached theism to the Athenians, quoting their poets, presenting a broad doctrine of providence, and a kindly view of human nature, with no direct mention of sin or of the real agony of the problem of life, and with the most guarded reference to Jesus. The implications of the address are barely concordant with the views he later expressed in the first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. "We must not, of course, demand that the entire theology of Paul should be compressed into this single address, but yet there is a notable omission of an element that was unfamiliar and probably repugnant to his audience, and an equally notable insistence on an element that was familiar to them." * This speech of Paul's is constantly cited as an illustration of what missionary preaching to the heathen should be. But it may be noted (1) that the results were utterly unsatisfactory. So long as he got nowhere near the gospel, the Athenians listened to him. When he touched it, the discourse was stopped. Some clave to Paul, but we hear of no church at Athens. (2) Paul never tried this style of preaching again. As Ramsay says: "It

* Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, p. 251 f.

would appear that Paul was disappointed and perhaps disillusioned by his experience in Athens. He felt that he had gone at least as far as was right in the way of presenting his doctrine in a form suited to the current philosophy; and the result had been little more than naught. When he went on from Athens to Corinth, he no longer spoke in the philosophic style. In replying afterwards to the unfavourable comparison between his preaching and the more philosophic style of Apollos, he told the Corinthians that, when he came among them, he 'determined not to know anything save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified' (1 Cor. ii: 2); and nowhere throughout his writings is he so hard on the wise, the philosophers, and the dialecticians, as when he defends the way in which he had presented Christianity at Corinth. Apparently the greater concentration of purpose and simplicity of method in his preaching at Corinth is referred to by Luke, when he says that when Silas and Timothy rejoined him there, they found him wholly possessed by and engrossed in the Word."

This journey reveals to us the missionary methods of Paul in process of fuller development. It lets us into the beginnings of his lofty ambition to evangelize the Roman Empire, through which, he later wrote to the Romans, he had fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum. And it shows us the mind of the Apostle laying firmer hold upon those great central and vital truths of Christianity, the concealment or abatement of which is rather treason than conciliation, and treason of the most terrible sort, because it betrays both the world in its death of sin and the Saviour on His Cross of Life. The gospel must be preached in love. But the gospel must be preached.

XXIII

IMPRESSIONS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN ASIA

IT was my profitable privilege a few years ago to make an extended tour among the Christian missions at work in Asia, and I would suggest some of the dominant impressions made upon my mind by this tour. It is not an easy matter to condense one's impressions of a continent. Eight hundred millions of people live in Asia. The greatest part of human history is connected with Asia. Back to Asia all our past roots run. On to Asia all our future history will tend. Eight hundred millions of people have enormous interests. Those interests cannot be spoken of lightly or briefly, but I shall try to touch upon a few of the strongest impressions made upon the mind of a Christian traveller among the peoples and missions of the East.

The first of these impressions is that of the unity of the human race. That is not chronologically the first impression made upon one's mind; precisely the opposite is true. Confused by the Babel of their speech, the kaleidoscopic colour of their dress, the diversity of their ways and points of view and customs, the first impression made upon the traveller's mind is precisely the opposite of harmony and unity. He sees a great tangling, jarring mass of peoples; he hears the discordant notes of their languages, and he cannot perceive any unity. He feels instinctively the difference between him and them, between his point of view and theirs; and he is given at once to understand that they feel the difference between them and him, and between their point of view and his. He

looks upon them as no more barbarian than they look upon him. The first impression that comes to him is that there is a chasm fixed between him and these Eastern peoples. I observe that Principal Fairbairn seems to have been most impressed with this, and in the first address he delivered to the people of India, he quoted from Kipling's ballad:

> "Oh, East is East, and West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet,
> Till earth and sky stand presently,
> At God's great judgment seat."

I do not wonder that that was the impression made upon his mind. I only wonder that Dr. Fairbairn did not go on immediately to quote the next lines from Mr. Kipling:

> "But there is neither East nor West,
> Border, nor breed, nor birth,
> When two strong men stand face to face,
> Though they come from the ends of the earth."

For true and vivid as the first impression that they and we are different from one another, the longer one mingles with these Eastern peoples, the more one comes to feel our essential unity with them, and to be conscious of his being but a member of a great common humanity, bound together by ties more real than any of those distinct and differentiating things that appear to separate us section from section; and the longer one travels among the peoples of the East, the stronger does the conviction grow in his mind that the Apostle was summing up one of the greatest truths when he declared that "God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the

earth." However different the colours of our skins, the fashions of our dress, our customs, points of view, judgments, and speech may be one from the other, underneath all these distinguishing features we and the people of the East are one. And never in all the meetings that we held with Christians and non-Christians throughout the East did words pointing to our unity, the features of life that we share, fail to call forth, even from the stupidest people, immediate and hearty response. This world is one world. However rich in our privileges we may be, however we may regard ourselves as superior to the alien nations, we and they are alike the children of one Father; and out of the deepened impression of our unity grow all kinds of generous assurances and expectations.

Having seen the people of the East, and having felt the common ties that bind them to us, one is more conscious than ever of the truth of the common fatherhood of our Father in heaven, and of the real and vital ties that bind all His children together in one great brotherhood; and one finds in this an impression of the dawn, the promise and the pledge of the coming of that day when over all this world the children of the Father shall be gathered in one common Church. Whether or not there ever will come a time when men shall gather themselves in one great Christian federation, one great "parliament of man," no one knows; but whoever has travelled among the peoples of Asia cannot fail to come back with the conviction that the time is drawing nearer and nearer when the peoples of the world shall be joined together by the ties of a common Christian Church, wherein the war drums will cease to throb, and the battle flags be forever furled and laid aside.

The second impression made upon the mind of any

thoughtful traveller among the peoples and the missions of Asia is directly connected with this first one. As the impression grows that we are all one, the traveller is struck by the fact that the people among whom he is moving deny such unity, and are living under religions whose first principles deny that there is any such thing as the unity of mankind. One comes to see instantly, and this is the second conviction that one would form, the insufficiency of the non-Christian religions. They are insufficient, if for no other reason, because they have never apprehended the idea of a common humanity, of the solidarity of mankind. What one of them is there which has not denied it? Mohammedanism puts outside the pale all who do not acknowledge the Prophet. Hinduism looks down upon all the unprivileged people shut out of its prerogatives. The Chinese, however much they may be touched by a modified form of the Buddhist faith, yet have erected barriers of exclusion that have made them the most secluded people on this earth. Every religion excepting Christ's religion has denied that there is a common humanity; has denied that there is a common Father of us all; lacks among its aspirations and expectations the Christian ideal of a common human family, living under a common Heavenly Father's love.

Now, it is not pleasing to a Christian man to make this discovery. I do not see how any Christian man can go out among the nations and peoples without desiring to find good in their faiths, and without feeling pained at each discovery of their insufficiency. It is not gratifying to us to know that the non-Christian religions do not meet the wants of the hearts of men. The Christian man generously looks for all the good he can discover in them, and much good he

finds there. I wonder that we make so little use of the Koran. In spite of all that Thomas Carlyle said about it, it is a great book, almost worthy to be laid beside Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ.* We lose much because we do not know the Koran. Where can you find outside the Bible a nobler statement of the real and vital sovereignty of God? Where can you find in all literature a nobler appeal for God's supreme rulership in human history? And he surely is blind who cannot find great good in the system of thought that Confucius codified. We stand in China before a nation with which no other nation is comparable for frugality, for patience, for simplicity of life, for sense of responsibility, for filial regard; and for all these things a man is ungenerous who is not willing to give Confucius all the credit which is his due.

In all the non-Christian religions there is good. Christianity gains nothing by denying what good there is. It is only enough for Christianity to point out that there is nothing good in any of them which is not in it. And in it there are all those compensating and balancing goods without which the goods of the non-Christian faiths have all of them been carried to falseness and disruption. Mohammed taught men that there was a God, separate and solitary, sitting apart cold and inscrutable, watching the great machine of life which He had made grind out its irresistible, unchangeable decrees. But Mohammed's God was a dead god, dead to our world and its life. Poor Omar Khayyam represents with sad fittingness the dreary Mohammedan creed:

"One moment in annihilation's waste,
One moment of the well of life to taste.

The stars are setting, and the caravan
Starts for the dawn of nothing—O, make haste!

"And that inverted bowl we call the sky,
Whereunder crawling, coop'd, we live and die,
Lift not thy hands to it for help,
For it rolls impotently on, as thou or I."

When Mohammed wrote the Koran and shut God out of the world, and killed the spirit of life and progress in men, he guaranteed that this should happen; that, as Lord Houghton said,

"While the world rolls on from change to change,
And realms of thought expand,
The letter stands without expanse or range,
Stiff as a dead man's hand."

Now, it must be confessed that Hinduism escaped the great error of Mohammedanism. Instead of shutting God out of His world, it brought Him very near, and identified Him with the life of man. As we came down from a temple at Benares, a Hindu priest stood by the bank of the Ganges.

"Gentlemen," said he, "give to these cows."

"Why?" said my friend.

"For God's sake," he replied.

"Why for God's sake?" we asked.

"Because God is in these cows," said the priest.

"Is God everywhere?" we asked.

"Certainly," he said.

"And in man?"

"Certainly," said the priest. "God is in man at all times; and in all his acts, assuredly."

"And in man in the act and at the time of sin?"

"Certainly; when I sin, it is the God in me sinning."

Hinduism escaped from the Mohammedan nullification of God by identifying God with human life and all its activities. The Hindu believes in a God who, instead of setting up external and objective standards of a pure life, sinks himself in the abyss of man's subjective passions and lusts. It is true that Hinduism escaped the error of Mohammedanism, but it was by falling into a worse error.

As against this error, Gautama protested that there was a future life when men should receive recompense for the deeds done in this life. But in laying his emphasis on the life to come, Buddha took the thoughts of men off the life which now is, and plunged all the hundreds of millions who believe in him into a nerveless life, a want of all power, so that the Buddhist nations have accomplished nothing. No Buddhist people has ever established any permanent philanthropy, or conducted any great permanent enterprise. It was a protest based on a one-sided view of truth, and it has died away unworthily into the lethargy that marks all Buddhist lands.

That error regarding the right attitude toward life Confucianism escaped. Confucius went precisely to the other extreme. "I do not know life," he said in substance. "How can I know death? I do not understand my own heart; how can I know anything about God?" And he has tried to take the thoughts of four hundred millions of his fellow creatures off the unseen world, and off the unseen God, and fix them upon this hard and mechanical present, and he has well nigh frozen up the sympathies and killed the aspirations of one-quarter of the human race. It is true there is good in all the non-Christian religions; but the very truths that they have emphasized are devoleped out of their just proportion, and lead men astray.

And one perceives even more clearly the insufficiency of the non-Christian religion when he stops to note that there is a chasm growing ever wider, ever broader between their ideal and their real. Much in the Vedas, in the Chinese classics, in the early Buddhist books, in the Koran, any Christian can get good from. The difficulty is that between the non-Christian ideal and the non-Christian real the chasm is wide and ever widening. Men say to you out in the non-Christian countries that there is a chasm between the ideal and the real in Christianity. And there is. Here in our own life, in these lands, in our Christian churches, our Bible is still on a level above our life. But the difference is this, that the chasm between the ideal and the real in heathenism is ever broadening, and the chasm between the ideal and the real in Christian lands is narrowing. I believe Christianity is purer to-day than ever before, that it is producing nobler characters, that we are growing closer to, and not drifting further from, the mind of Christ; that between the ideal and the real in Christian lands the chasm grows ever narrower and narrower as the years pass by, while in non-Christian countries the chasm broadens every year. A recent number of the *Hindu,* one of the leading native papers published in India, speaks of just this truth, confessing that the good old days are gone, and gone forever, and that every year shows the gulf wider and broader, and more ghastly between their actual life and the ideals held up by their prophets centuries ago.

And there is this further difference, already pointed out, that Christianity possesses within itself the power of its own self-purification. While every other religion grows worse and worse, Christianity grows better and

better. There is the spirit of the Divine life in it, of a Godly progress; and, as the years roll by, Christ's Church, side by side with growing evil, and iniquity, and sin, will grow purer and better and holier, while non-Christian faiths stick fast in the mire and draw ever nearer to their goal of death.

The missionary movement is not a philanthropic movement, it is not a charitable movement, it is not a political movement. It is an evangelistic, religious movement. Its object is to supplant falsehood or partial truth which too often serves falsehood, with the full truth of Christianity. If we believe that the non-Christian religions are sufficient, we cannot keep up the missionary movement. Young men will not give their lives to it. Young women will not sacrifice their homes for it. The Church will not curtail her self-indulgence for it. It is only as we perceive that the missionary movement is a distinctly religious movement, the message of God to His dying children, to His misguided children, that we shall plant the missionary movement on those foundations from which it can never be removed. One cannot travel through the non-Christian lands without having this conviction of the moral error of heathenism deepened until it cuts his heart with pain.

The third impression is that of the solidity and the success of the missionary movement. It would be a dreary, dreary prospect if we stood face to face with the world of need only. We stand face to face with the world of need in which the gospel is demonstrating itself to be the adequate response and the adequate supply. The world does not appreciate the missionaries at their full value. I came home with a very much higher opinion as to missionary character. I heard Dr. James Stalker say once, ten or twelve years

ago, that he had often been asked what his judgment of missionaries was; were they after all an inferior lot, or about the average? Or were they, as many hero-worshippers supposed, far above the average? He said he was accustomed to reply that he had known a great many missionaries, among them David Livingstone, and had come to the conclusion that the average missionary was a little better man spiritually and intellectually than the average minister at home. And if I were to modify Dr. Stalker's judgment at all, after meeting with hundreds and hundreds of missionaries, I should simply omit the word "little." One could quote scores of testimonies regarding missionary character and achievement. We do not begin to understand here in these Christian lands what the missionaries have done and are doing. Little handfuls of men in many lands—little handfuls of men buried in the darkness of heathenism round about, buried out of sight among hundreds and thousands of strange people—are still doing, down at the roots of human life and society, the lasting work of the new creation. At the close of a meeting we were holding in Teheran, the British Minister came up to say that he wanted to speak just a word to be carried back to the American Churches regarding the American Presbyterian missionaries of Northern Persia. "I cannot over-estimate," he said, "the good that these men and women are doing in this land"—a little company, only forty or fifty altogether, among five millions of Mohammedans, the hardest people in the world to impress in any way,—"I cannot begin," he said, "to tell the wide influence that they are exerting, the incalculable good that they are doing here in this country." Beside him stood the Dutch Minister, who at once spoke with equal heartiness, "All the

rest of us are in this land for what we can make; the missionaries are the only people here for the sake of what they can give." Recall Mr. Kipling's poem describing the work of the British soldier in Africa. Magnify it in the way it must be magnifiel, and consider all the material power that is back of what the British soldier has done in Egypt, and you will begin to get some faint idea of the work that the missionaries are doing all over Asia, demoralizing old superstitions, changing the whole course of the development of nations, establishing a sense of justice where none existed before, gathering out of peoples, with whom confession of Christ means everlasting ostracism, little groups of men and women, who confess Christ with a loyalty and faithfulness that ought to put us to shame here in these lands where confession of Christ and service for Him are so easy.

I think one difficulty in the way of our proper appreciation is that we never see the missionary except under unfavourable circumstances. We see him when he comes back here after being buried in a heathen land for seven or eight years. There came into my office one day, a young man, a graduate of a Southern University. I had known him for a great many years as a man of singular readiness of thought, and I wondered that for three-quarters of an hour he sat there saying scarcely a word. "What has come over you?" I said, at last. "You have not made a remark since you came here except in answer to direct questions." "Well," he said, "for six years I have been living on the Bonin Islands to the south of Japan, practically alone, and I have lost my bearings with reference to civilization; I cannot adjust myself to the old life again; I have been afraid all the time I would make a slip, and to be on the safe side I just say noth-

ing at all." Any one who has been long in Asia can appreciate this. One cannot have the same old confidence that he understands the point of view of the people here with whom he is speaking. He cannot have the same old freedom in addressing them, the same effrontery, nor the same confidence in knowing just where to hit and to refrain from hitting in his dealings with them. I think many missionaries come home who have been saturated for seven or eight years with the life that is round about them, adjusting themselves to it, doing their work among a primitive elementary people, and they find it difficult in a few months to re-adjust themselves. If we could see them at their work away down at the dark foundations of human life, hewing corrupt and rotten peoples out of their depth of degradation, and drawing, with the very power of Him who said " I, if I be lifted up will draw all men unto Me,"—drawing men, communities, multitudes, nations, we should have a much higher judgment of these men and women than we have.

There comes up before my mind the picture of some missionaries at their work. One afternoon, in Southern China, we were hailed across a stream by a voice we instantly recognized as belonging to our own people, and we immediately stopped our boat. The voice came from another boat that was near by, and a young woman leaned out of the door of the other boat. She was dressed in Chinese dress, a young woman of perhaps thirty years of age. She had come from Georgia, and had been a missionary in China for some years. We tried to persuade her to join us and go back to Canton. " No," she said, she would have to do that presently, for she could not be buried forever without getting a breath of fresh Christian

atmosphere some time; but she could stand it a little longer, and she would go back alone until the time came when she would return to her station to mingle for a little while with her own people. I see another woman some sixty years of age, working in central Persia. She has lived for months in that mud house, in that Moslem village without anyone who can understand her, working among those narrow-minded Moslem women, and she was not afraid, and she was not retreating, but she intended to stay a little longer, so long as weak flesh could endure, to preach Christ's gospel to these poor women, who had never heard the message of His love. There are hundreds and hundreds of such men and women as these scattered all over the world. They are the true representatives of Him "who though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor that we through His poverty might be rich,"—of Him who though in the form of God counted it not a prize to be jealously retained, to be on an equality with God, "but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

And I have a new respect for the solidity of the methods that Christian missions are using. I know they are criticized from two diverse points of view. A lawyer was criticizing missions a short time ago in my hearing, because they were too individualistic—that is, seeking to save individual souls. They did not concern themselves enough with modifying the social atmosphere; they did not regard sufficiently the change of political development. He thought missions ought to set themselves more to influence the great social movements, and less to dealing with individual lives. On the other hand, the methods of our missions are

criticized from precisely the opposite point of view—because they are not individualistic enough; they aim too much at institutionalism; their efforts are too strongly directed at the foundation of a future work, and not sufficiently at doing a work for the present time, regardless of the future altogether. I wonder whether, after all, it is not the best testimony that could be paid to the good judgment of the missionaries—to the solidity of their missionary methods—that they satisfy people at neither extreme.

We can modify our mission methods; we can modify them, on one hand, by expecting of human nature what you will never get from it, or on the other hand by abandoning our evangelical convictions, not otherwise. And yet there is a way in which we can modify and improve our Christian missions, and that is by modifying and improving our Christian churches at home. What are the missionaries? What we all, men and women, are, so are they. They are precisely the kind of Christians that we have in our churches at home,—a little better, but the same kind. Do we demand of our missionaries more sacrifice? There is one and only one way to secure it, and that is by having more sacrifice in the home churches. Do we demand of them a different grade of Christian life? There is one and only one sure way of obtaining it, and that is by adopting a different grade of life in the home churches. We cannot expect of the mission movement what is not in the church. The missionaries go out into the mission field with the ideals existing in the home church, with the consecration of the home church, with the devotion that marks the home church. Every criticism levelled at the devotion, the consecration of Christian missionaries is levelled, not at them, but at the churches of which they are the children.

Would we have more constancy on the part of our missionaries? Would we have more devotion on the part of our missionaries? Would we have them filled with the power of the Spirit of God? Let us raise the standard of our home church devotion, and fill our churches with the power of the Spirit of God. We cannot abandon our evangelical convictions at home, and swing loose into broad socialistic views of Christianity; we cannot cease to lay emphasis where Paul laid it, on individual redemption, and begin to lay it on the redemption of classes or nations without having this change among us inevitably affect our missions abroad. Here at home we need a revived sense of the value of the individual soul, a larger personal loyalty to Christ, an abandonment of all those petty, little self-indulgences that are becoming characteristic marks of people, Christian and non-Christian alike. As we lift the whole grade of our home Christian life, we shall lift the whole grade of our missionary enterprises; and until then we shall go forward just as we are with the whole mission work a little better, a little more consecrated, a little more devoted, a little more self-sacrificing than the home church is, because it is the best we have who are representing us there.

The last impression of which I would speak here is the certainty of the ultimate success of this work. Let it be very clearly stated that there is a possibility of our over-emphasizing the significance of such an impression. What difference does it make whether we succeed or not? I recall the way in which an old British colonel, whom I met on the Pacific in coming home, spoke about the people in his old parish in England, who held aloof from the missionary enterprise because they were afraid the work was not going to succeed, and they did not feel like making

any investments in it. "That is not the spirit we tolerate in the army," he said. "We do not qualify obedience by our opinions as to the success of this work or that which is ordered. When we want the men to do a thing, it is done; and I despise these people for whom the clear and unqualified commands of Christ are not enough." I remember how nonplussed I was when asked on returning the question, "Have you been encouraged by what you have seen?" I never had looked at missions from the point of view of being encouraged or discouraged. What we had seen had nothing whatever to do with our convictions as to the missionary enterprise. That enterprise rests on foundations so solid that they are not affected in any way by either the success or failure of missionary work, namely, the world's needs, the last command of Christ, the expansive nature of Christianity. These are the considerations upon which the missionary movement rests, and will rest, whether it succeeds or not.

But it must be confessed also that there is a great deal which is discouraging in connection with missionary work. How much there is that is discouraging in the way in which the home churches nullify and frustrate the very purposes of their missionaries, undoing much of what their missionaries have done, breaking down what they are trying to accomplish in the way of self-support, lavishing their money on men and enterprises of which the missionaries cannot approve. If you could go out and see the missionaries you would understand how much discouragement comes through Christians at home. When after a whole generation's toil they have just begun to build up a self-supporting church, and some adventurer comes over to this country and works upon the

sympathies, and fills his pockets with the contributions of American Christians, and then goes back and spreads the impression that there is no need of following out the economical methods of the missionaries, presently their whole staff of native workers is disturbed and broken.

There is enough of a discouraging character in the foreign field without our adding to the difficulties by unwise generosity. Century after century has passed, and we have made but a slight impression on Islam. The Christian Church has shirked her task. I know of nothing more significant in Church history than the way the Roman Catholic Church has refrained from sending missionaries to Mohammedanism. As we stand face to face with Islam there is much discouragement there; also in the wreck of the Doshisha; in the smoking villages, the outraged women, the murdered husbands among the Armenians, and the little orphanages springing up that tell the story of the work of the missionaries. There is a great deal that is discouraging. And yet we cannot look back over a century without being able in some measure to discern those great forces that are pressing on always towards the great goals of God,

> "That far off divine event
> To which the whole creation moves."

It is true that there is much that is dark and discouraging, but we will not find in all the world an enterprise that has achieved such success as this, an enterprise that is sweeping men, communities and nations into the kingdom of God. It is changing the

character of the peoples of the earth. Very dark at times it all seems; but whoever will may

> "Hear at times a sentinel
> Who moves about from place to place,
> And whispers to the worlds of space,
> In the deep night, that all is well.
>
> And all is well, though faith and form
> Be sundered in the night of fear;
> Well roars the storm to those that hear
> A deeper voice across the storm."

Would that the Spirit of God might call us to perceive that this is what we are sent into the world for, that this is what the Church of Christ is set here for—not as a spiritual house of horticulture, not as a little enclosed palisaded ground in which a few individuals may develop their own spiritual dispositions. The Christian Church is here with a view to the multitude beyond who wait to hear the story of the life and the death and the blood of Jesus Christ. And they will hear. If we fail to share in the glorious work of telling them, others will tell, and have the privilege, and receive the reward, and the glory. Jesus Christ proposes to reign over this world. It is not His loss but ours, if we do not take a share, and a share as large as our life and its opportunities, in the work of bringing in His kingdom.

XXIV

PERSIAN MOHAMMEDANS AND MOHAMMEDANISM

ISLAM, almost more than South America, is entitled to the name of the "Neglected." More than seven hundred years ago, in the days of the crusades, Raymond Lull strove nobly, but in vain, to sweep Christendom into a great missionary movement for the conversion of the Moslem, declaring, "I see many knights going to the Holy Land in the expectation of conquering it by force of arms; but instead of accomplishing their object, they are in the end all swept off themselves Therefore it is my belief that the conquest of the Holy Land should be attempted in no other way than as Thou (Christ) and Thy apostles undertook to accomplish it—by love, by prayer, by tears, and the offering up of our own lives." Since Raymond Lull's failure to call Christendom forth to a true crusade of Christ not against, but for the Moslem, the Christian Church has sent out her missionaries by the hundred and the thousand to Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian, and has passed Islam almost wholly by. Even the Church of Rome, brave to the point of utter sacrifice in every other enterprise, shuns it. Only here and there little groups of men have been standing as advance guards at the gates of Mohammedanism which even in its decrepitude they have not ventured boldly to assail.

In this general neglect of the peoples and lands subject to the faith of Islam, Persia has naturally shared. Henry Martyn visited the country in 1811 and passed through on his way to his death at Tokat, but he was

enfeebled by disease and gave most of his time to the work of translating the New Testament and Psalms. This translation he wished to present to the king, before he passed on. The greeting he received is worth quoting in his own words, as explanatory of the constant tone of Islam toward Christianity and of the Church's timidity in facing its great problem:

"June 12th I attended the vizier's levee when there was a most intemperate and clamorous controversy kept up for an hour or two, eight or ten on one side and I on the other. The vizier, who set us going first, joined in it latterly and said, 'You had better say God is God and Mohammed is the prophet of God.' I said, 'God is God,' but added, instead of 'Mohammed is the prophet of God,' 'and Jesus is the Son of God.' They had no sooner heard this, which I had avoided bringing forward until then, than they all exclaimed in contempt and anger, 'He is neither born nor begets,' (Koran, Sura cxii.) and rose up as if they would have torn me in pieces. One of them said: 'What will you say when your tongue is burned out for this blasphemy?' One of them felt for me a little and tried to soften the severity of this speech. My book, which I had brought, expecting to present it to the king, lay before Mirza Shufi. As they all rose up, after him, to go, some to the king and some away, I was afraid they would trample upon the book, so I went among them to take it up, and wrapped it in a towel before them, while they looked at it and me with supreme contempt. Thus I walked away alone to pass the rest of the day in heat and dirt. What have I done, thought I, to merit all this scorn? Nothing, thought I, but bearing testimony to Jesus. I thought over these things in prayer, and found that peace which Christ hath promised to His disciples."

The next visitor to Persia, who came to preach Christ, was Dr. Pfander, in 1829, who wrote *The Balance of Truth,* a book setting forth the comparative evidence of Christianity and Islam, whose mission is not yet ended. The same year Messrs. Smith and Dwight, of the American Board, were sent to explore the Nestorian section of the province of Azerbaijan, and their visit led to the first permanent Protestant missionary work in Persia, and the foundation in 1835 of the fruitful mission to the Nestorians. In 1833 also the Basle society established work at Tabriz, which was broken up by the bigotry of the people four years' later, and not renewed. William Glen, a Scotch missionary, came in 1838, with a translation of the Old Testament into Persian, partially completed. In 1847 he finished it, and combining it with Martyn's New Testament, supplied Persia with the Bible. Dr. Robert Bruce came to Persia in 1869, and led the Church Missionary Society to undertake work at Julfa, near Ispahan, in 1876. Swedish and German missionaries have been located in Azerbaijan from time to time, but the former are now withdrawn. The Roman Catholics have worked for years among the Armenians in Teheran and Salmas and maintained a feeble mission in Urumia. In 1888 a mission to the Nestorians, called "The Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission," of high Anglican tendencies and methods was established in Urumia after many vicissitudes. There has been some sporadic special work for Jews, and the English and American Bible societies have had agents at work. The Nestorian mission, founded in 1835, under the American Board, has grown into the extensive work of the two missions of the Presbyterian Church, with centres at Urumia, Tabriz, Teheran, and Hamadan, and the work of Persia's evangelization is committed

to these missions, and the mission of the Church Missionary Society, which have agreed to divide the field between them by a line running from the eastern border of Persia along the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude to Kashan, and thence southwest to Khoramabad and the Turkish border. The 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 people of Persia are dependent upon these little companies for their knowledge of the gospel.

The missionary work in Persia is surrounded by difficult and grave limitations. There are, perhaps, 75,000 or 100,000 Nestorians, Armenians, Jews, and Parsees in Persia. The rest of the population is regarded as Moslem. Now the Koran nowhere states that an apostate is to be put to death, but according to Al Beidawi there are three crimes for which a man may justly be put to death, apostasy, adultery, and murder (Sale's *Koran,* ed. 1887, p. 209), and converts from Islam in Persia have been killed, not professedly, but in reality, because of their change of religion. Moreover, there have been several firmans issued by the Shah affirming the right of the people of other than the Moslem religion to change their religion if they wish. Such a statement of the religious liberty of non-Moslems is its denial to Moslems. The withdrawal of the German missionaries from Urumia, a few years ago, was at the instance of the Persian government, which made their aggressive work among Moslems the pretext for its action. The bolder stand of the C. M. S. missionaries at Ispahan has recently led to no little discussion and condemnation. English missionaries are not so easily expelled, however. Conversation with Moslems on the subject of religion has never been forbidden, and a sort of formal permission was even given some years ago in Teheran to men to visit the mission chapel; but apostasy has almost

always met, and for years is likely to meet, in some form, speedy retribution, and an open and earnest propaganda among Moslems, on the part of either mission, would undoubtedly lead to the expulsion of its missionaries from the country. It has been necessary, therefore, to carry on missionary work in Persia with great tact and much quietness, devoting time and strength primarily to the non-Moslem populations. It was, indeed, for the Nestorians that the American mission was founded, and though it is, I believe, one of the principles of the Church Missionary Society not to send missions to the Oriental Churches, its mission at Ispahan, pending the dawn of religious liberty, is devoted largely to the vitalization of the Armenian churches in its territory. Nestorians, Armenians, and Jews, accordingly, constitute the present open field of missionary work in Persia. General Schindler gives the number of these as Jews, 19,000; Armenians, 43,000; Nestorians, 23,000, which Curzon regards as in each case an underestimate. There is no such thing as a census in Persia, of course, the government being incapable of undertaking such a work, and the ecclesiastical authorities being averse to it. Judging from his estimate of the Nestorians, however, Schindler is not far out of the way. Of these three classes, the Nestorians present the most favourable field for missionary work. They are a religious people, of many childlike characteristics, patient, dignified, dependent. The Persian Armenians are a difficult class—money-seeking, self-satisfied, not very tractable, ambitious, and active, "loving this present world," as one of them put it in Tabriz, "and seeking the Kingdom of God last." Curzon's judgment, while not wholly just either to Nestorian or Armenian, is not without discrimination. The Nestorians, he says, are "docile,

law-abiding, and industrious. They are a warm-hearted people, prone to hospitality, fond of festivity, and neither so precocious nor so crafty as the Armenians. On the other hand, they are very quarrelsome amongst themselves, are avaricious of money, and incurably addicted to mendicancy, and sixty years of missionary effort have not taught them that there is any virtue in truth or any call for private honour." This last judgment rests on the opinion of Mr. Athelstan Riley, which is not wholly reliable. "The Persian Armenians," adds Mr. Curzon, "are a less prolific, less gregarious, and less stay-at-home, . . . a less attractive, and an even less reliable people than the mendacious, but peaceable, Nestorians. They travel a great deal and pick up revolutionary ideas, and are disposed to deceit and turbulence." (Curzon's *Persia,* London ed. 1892, vol. II., pp. 544-548.) The Jews are scattered through the cities of Persia, where they can live together. Unlike the Armenians, they do not settle in villages predominantly Moslem. Everywhere they are subject to painful disabilities. They are usually the first victims of the bigotry of a mob, easily aroused anywhere by an appeal to fanaticism. At Ispahan, where they are said to be in a better position than elsewhere in Persia, "they are not permitted to wear the *kolah,* or Persian head-dress, to have shops in the bazaar, to build the walls of their houses as high as a Moslem neighbour, or to ride in the streets." In Hamadan it is not an infrequent thing for the missionaries to hear the roar of some street mob, stirred up by the mollahs, and bound for the Jewish quarter. Of even his primacy in bargain and trade the Jew has been deprived by the Armenian, who will invariably outwit the Jew, and who engages in the main in the more respectable lines

of business, leaving the peddling and petty trading to the Jew. Many Jews in Persia have accepted the gospel, however. There is a small organized Jewish church in Hamadan, and not a few Jewish young men have received the best medical training available in Persia in the mission schools and under the medical missionaries.

But it is neither of the difficulties nor of the success of the mission work among non-Moslems that I wish to treat here. It is of Persian Mohammedans and Mohammedanism as the ultimate field of missionary work; for while the missionaries and their supporters are law-abiding and honest, and are at work for those for whom they are free to work, it is manifest to any one that their work touches, and is affecting the established religion. Whatever the difficulties, moreover, and however long it may have to wait, the Christian Church assuredly proposes to meet Islam face to face on every field now in Islam's possession, and to reclaim those fields for the great God, the compassionate, the merciful, whose prophet Mohammed claimed to be, and for His Christ.

In preparation for that day and in all consideration of the Mohammedan missionary problem, it needs to be kept in mind that Persian Mohammedanism is not the same as the Mohammedanism of India, or Africa, or the Ottoman Empire. The Persian Moslems are schismatics. Their very name "Shiahs" means "Sectaries." It seems strange, as Sale suggests, that Spinoza should have been ignorant of this notorious division, and should "have assigned as the reason for preferring the order of the Mohammedan Church to that of the Roman, that there have arisen no schisms in the former since its birth." The same mistake is frequently made, however, in our own day. The unity

of Islam is held up as a rebuke to divided Christendom. But Mohammedans would not be grateful for this conspicuousness. They say "The Magians are divided into seventy sects, the Jews into seventy-one, the Christians into seventy-two and the Moslems into seventy-three, as Mohammed had foretold." Moreover they have advanced beyond Christendom in this that only one sect is entitled to salvation in their view, each sect holding the others damnable. Historically innumerable sects have developed. Since 1492 the Persian Moslems have been Shiahs, and between them and the Sunnis, the orthodox body to which the Turks belong, there is deep hostility and bitterness, where, indeed, the decadence of Islam has left any sincere feeling, at all. The chief points of difference between Sunnite and Shiah are:

"1. That the Shiahs reject Abu Bekr, Omar, and Othman, the three first Caliphs, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the Sunnis acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imams. 2. The Shiahs prefer Ali (the cousin of Mohammed who married his daughter, Fatima, and the fourth Caliph) to Mohammed, or, at least, esteem the two equal; but the Sunnis admit neither Ali nor any of the prophets to be equal to Mohammed. 3. The Sunnis charge the Shiahs with corrupting the Koran and neglecting its precepts, and the Shiahs retort the same charge on the Sunnis. 4. The Sunnis receive the Sunna, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority, whereas the Shiahs reject it as apocryphal and unworthy of credit." (Sale's *Koran,* ed. 1887. Introductory Essay, p. 138.)

The chief point to be noted is that the Shiahs believe Ali to have been lawful Caliph and Imam and

hold that the supreme authority in all things, spiritual and temporal, State no less than Church, of right belongs to his descendants. This right they do not enjoy in Persia. The civil power is in the hands of the Kajar dynasty. The Kajars are Turks, in no wise connected with the family of Ali. According to the strict faith of the Shiahs they are usurpers of authority belonging to Ali's descendants, in whose hands is the ecclesiastical power. There is a very real separation, accordingly, between Church and State in Persia, more real than exists in many Christian lands. In Islam, using the word in its popular sense, such a condition as this is a logical contradiction. Mohammed's Islam, the Islam of the Caliphs was the State. It grew by appealing to those motives which only civil power could satisfy and by making such promises as only Islam as a political and military organization could fulfil. Deprived of the power of appealing to such motives and of making such promises and reduced to a religion merely, Islam ceases to be Islam. To this condition Persian Mohammedanism is practically reduced. It is only a religion here. It is the established religion. The State does for it what Christian States, with established religions, do not do for them, but it does not subsidize it financially, as Christian States do. But Mohammedanism cannot endure, robbed of its political character. It may become a modified, modernized Islam but it will not be Mohammedanism. It will have to take its place among the world's religions not as a political institution, but as a system of morals and faith. This is what Mohammedanism has had to do in Persia. It controls the passage of property, and still possesses many political advantages. The civil power has by no means wholly triumphed over it. There are even indications that the present

Shah may surrender something of what his father had gained in his long struggle with the mollahs. But Islam has been obliged radically to change its character and Shiah Mohammedanism must become less and less true to Mohammed's principles and less and less like the Mohammedanism of Abu-Bekr and the world-conquering Caliphs and more and more a religion simply with no appeal save to the conscience and intellect of man.

From this deadly separation the Sunni Mohammedanism of the Turk has been fictitiously saved. His Sultan has been his Caliph, too. Legally the Caliphate belongs to the Prophet's family of the Koreish. After the dismal end of the Abbassid dynasty of Caliphs in 1258, a mock Caliphate was set up and maintained in Egypt. This came to an end with the conquest of Egypt by Selim I., Sultan of the Osmanlis, to whose successor, Suleiman, Muttawakkli, the last of the puppet Caliphs of Egypt and a descendant from the thirty-fifth Caliph of Bagdad, surrendered his supposed rights, so that the Osmanli sultans to this day have claimed to be the spiritual as well as the political successors of Mohammed. The claim is a poor dream, mocked at by the Hindus, Persians, and Moors, but it has saved Sunni Islam from the present fate of the Shiah faith. (Muir's *Caliphate,* London ed. 1892, pp. 589-594.) As a matter of fact, however, the pressure of civilization and the better Christian ideals, and the general onward sweep of human life have deprived even the Sunni Moslem of the sanctions and incentives which made the faith of the Arabs vital, irresistible.

Deprived of its military character, and denied political authority, though it administers still a good share of the civil law, and usurps political power wherever local officials are too weak to resist, Shiah

Mohammedanism has had good opportunity to develop its religious, ethical and social fruits. What have been the results? In social life, Mohammedanism never conceived a home. In Persian there are no distinct words for wife and home. The words for woman and houses serve instead. The Prophet's example and teaching, the supposed revelation of God in the Koran, made it certain that Mohammedan life should forever lack all that for which in our Christian life the home stands. "Of other women who seem good in your eyes," said the Prophet, "marry but two or three or four." (Rodwell's *Koran,* London ed., 1876, Sura iv., 3, p. 451.) "Who control their desires, save with their wives or the slaves whom their right hands have won,—in that case verily they shall be blameless; . . these shall dwell, laden with honours, amid gardens." (Idem, Sura lxx, 29, 30, 35, p. 60.) Thus Mohammed granted his followers in all times what in practical life amounts to unlimited polygamy, legalized lust to suit the taste and wealth of all. The late Shah, I was told by a Persian officer in Teheran, left in his harem when he died 1400 women, 104 of whom were recognized as legal wives, the rest as concubines and attendants. The present Shah said some years ago that his father had 56 wives. Few Persians are able to maintain many wives. Probably one-half, says one who has lived in Persia many years, are monogamists, not of choice, but of poverty. For the satisfaction of these, against their creation of homes, the Koran provides in its enactments regarding divorce. "Ye may divorce your wives twice." "Then if the husband divorce her a third time, it is not lawful for him to take her again, until she shall have married another husband; and if he also divorce her, then shall no blame attach to them if they return to each other."

(Idem, Sura ii., 229, 230, pp. 395, 396.) It is against this last provision that Al Kindi, a Christian apologist living at the court of Al-Mamun, one of the most liberal of the Bagdad Caliphs, in the ninth century, and who seems to have been allowed free speech, most bitterly protests in a letter written to a Moslem friend, Abdullah ibn Ismail, who had invited him to embrace Islam. "What could be more vile," he asks, "than your own ordinance for legalizing remarriage after the thrice repeated divorce; for by it, a chaste lady, tender and delicate, the mother of virtuous daughters, herself, it may be noble-born and held in honour by her kinsfolk —this pattern of virtue and refinement must submit her person to the lewd embrace of a hired gallant, before she can be restored to her husband,—an abominable law, more odious even than the wicked custom of the Magians. And yet thou invitest me to accept a vile ordinance like this—an ordinance against which the very beasts of the field, if you gave them speech, would cry out for shame!" "Words strong, but not too strong here," adds Sir William Muir. (Muir's *Al Kindi,* London ed., 1887, pp. 93, 94.) This was evidently the way the law worked. No limit was set to the number of wives a man might take in succession and put away by simply thrice declaring them divorced, and observing certain financial provisions. The wife has no remedy, no recourse. She must do what she can with her life. Under such practices it is no wonder that one sees in the main not the attractive women, (veiled women are the minority in Persia as a whole) and the handsome, stalwart, active men of whom we read in books on Persia, but wrecked and weakly men and women, aged and shrivelled before their time.

I have already suggested that it is significant that the

provisions regarding divorce are from a sura in the Koran named "The Cow." That is woman's grade in Moslem principles. There are exceptions to placing her on this grade. Some of the Prophet's women were in part wives and the exception of a nobler treatment emerges here and there in the Koran, but as a cow Islam has treated woman. It began soon to degrade man. It began at once to degrade woman, who "possessed," according to Muir, "more freedom and exercised a healthier and more legitimate influence, under the pagan institutions of Arabia before the time of Mohammed, than under the influence of Islam." Islam had done its deadly work in this regard in Persia. In his report on Persia in 1873, Dr. J. E. Polok, who was a physician, named as the first main cause of the decline of population, "the unfavourable position of women, including the facility of divorce, early marriage, and premature age."

It has been claimed for Islam that its provisions regarding marriage have abolished the vice of prostitution, and made Moslem lands in this vital respect cleaner than Christian lands. The moral fruits of Islam have been extolled in the public places. It can be shortly replied that the authorized Moslem practices regarding women render prostitution a superfluous and unnecessary vice, but it may be worth while to accept the challenge and to measure Shiah Mohammedanism by it. Prostitution has not been abolished. It flourishes in Meshed under ecclesiastical sanction, and in the cities. Meshed is one of the holy cities of Persia, the burial place of the preëminently holy Imam Reza, the son of Imam Musa and the eighth of the twelve Imams or Prophets, to which 100,000 pilgrims annually make their way from all parts of Persia. "In recognition of the long journeys which they have

made," says Curzon, "of the hardships which they have sustained, and of the distance by which they are severed from family and home, they are permitted, with the connivance of the ecclesiastical law and its officers, to contract temporary marriages during their sojourn in the city. There is a large permanent population of wives suitable for the purpose. (A *sigheh* or temporary wife may be married for any period from one day to ninety-nine years. Women often prefer being *sighehs* for the full period to being *akdis* or real wives. The *akdi* can be divorced at any time, the *sigheh* not before the end of her contract, except for misconduct. Short period *sighehs* in the big cities are quasi-prostitutes.) A mollah is found, under whose sanction a contract is drawn up and formally sealed by both parties, a fee paid, and the union is legally accomplished; after the lapse of a fortnight or a month, or whatever be the specified period, the contract terminates, the temporary husband returns to his own *lares et penates* in some distant clime, and the lady after an enforced celibacy of fourteen days duration, resumes her career of persevering matrimony. In other words, a gigantic system of prostitution, under the sanction of the Church, prevails in Meshed. There is probably not a more immoral city in Asia." (Curzon's *Persia,* London ed., 1892, vol. I., p. 165). Malcolm says the Sunnis abhor the practice. *(History of Persia,* London ed., 1892, vol. II, p. 428.) There are villages also, such as Novaron in the province of Irak-Ajemi, which are noted for the presence of soliciting women even on the roads about the town. While it has prostituted the home and made it a private brothel, Islam has not purged society of the hideous vice which is the curse of civilization, and of the celibate life which civilization fos-

ters. It is true that Mohammed, with that one-sided vision which has characterized all legislation on this subject, pronounced fearful penalties upon the woman proved guilty of whoredom. She was to be immured, as men are still, until she died. (Sale's *Koran,* ed., 1887, sura 19, p. 55.) This punishment was changed by the Sunna to scourging with a hundred stripes and banishment for a year in the case of maidens, and to stoning for married women. (Vid. Sura xxiv, 2.) Within recent years, prostitutes have been sewed in bags, laid on the ground, and beaten to death with clubs in Urumia, by the civil officials; but such punishment is exceptional and it is not visited upon the Meshed iniquity, nor have I heard of any punishment of such offences elsewhere. Shiah Mohammedanism, if it does not openly sanction immorality, tolerates it in its holy places in the very precincts of its mosques, and furnishes no justification of the panegyrics, with which we have been made familiar.

There is a hideous form of immorality, moreover, which Mohammedanism seems to have revived, and which flourishes under Islam as it does nowhere else in a world richly furnished everywhere with ingenious forms of evil, the sin of Sodomy. Dr. H. H. Jessup writes:

"In the city of Hamah, in Northern Syria, the Christian population even to this day are afraid to allow their boys from ten to fourteen years of age to appear in the streets after sunset, lest they be carried off by the Moslems as victims of the horrible practice of sodomy. Mohammedan pashas surround themselves with fair-faced boys, nominally as scribes and pages, when in reality their object is of entirely an-

other character. A young English lord, travelling in Syria some years since, entered the Turkish baths in the city of Tripoli, when he was set upon by a number of Moslems, as the men of Sodom attempted to assail the angelic guests of the righteous Lot, and only with the greatest difficulty did he escape from their brutal hands. They were arrested, bastinadoed and sent to the Acre penitentiary. A crime so abominable, unspeakable, and incredible, instead of being checked by Mohammedanism, is fostered by it, and it is one of the scourges of Mohammedan society." (Jessup's *Mohammedan Missionary Problem,* pp. 48, 49.)

Among the "higher classes," this crime is horribly common in Persia to-day. Scores of the *khans* and wealthier men of the cities keep boys for the foulest purposes. The sin was prevalent in Henry Martyn's day. He writes in his journal for May 28, 1811, "The Resident (at Bushire) gave us some account this evening of the moral state of Persia. It is enough to make one shudder. If God rained down fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah, how is it that this nation is not blotted out from under heaven? I do not remember to have heard such things of the Hindus, except the Sikhs; they seen to rival the Mohammedans." After quoting Dr. Jessup's story of the condition of Hamah, Dr. Wherry adds:

"In India the case may not be as bad as it is in Turkey, but I think we can fairly agree with the Rev. J. Vaughan, who says, 'However the phenomenon may be accounted for, we, after mixing with Hindus and Mussulmans for nineteen years back, have no hesitation in saying that the latter are, as a whole, some degrees lower in the social and moral scale than the

former.'" (Wherry's *Commentary on the Koran,* London, ed., 1884, vol. II, p. 69.)

Against this sin the Koran says only this, and some dispute its reference to sodomy: "And if two men among you commit the crime, then punish them both; but if they repent and amend, then let them be; Verily, God is He who relenteth, merciful" (Sura iv, 20). The Prophet was not understood to intend any heavy punishment. Some understood that they were only to reproach the offenders in public, or strike them on the head with their slippers. Some others thought the guilty persons might be scourged. (Sale's *Koran,* p. 55.) According to the *Tafsir-i-Raufi* the punishment was to be inflicted by the tongue, at most by the hand. (Wherry's *Commentary,* vol. II, p. 75.) Shiah Mohammedanism has not saved woman from man. In multitudes of instances it has not saved man from his brother.

What the morals of the ancient Persians were, we do not know. As Sir John Malcolm justly observed, "The historians of that nation never write of common men; and it is, perhaps, unfair to judge of the mass by what we find recorded of their kings and heroes. If we should, the sentence would not be favourable. . . . If their example was generally followed, the morals of the Persians cannot have been much better than their government and laws." (Malcolm's *History of Persia,* London ed., 1829, vol. I, p. 554.) The traditional view is that "the Persian was keen-witted and ingenious, generous, warm-hearted, hospitable, and courageous. He was bold and dashing in war; sparkling, vivacious, and quick in repartee in social life. . . . He was self-indulgent and luxurious, but chary of debt. The early Persians were remarkable for truth-

fulness, lying being abhorred as the special characteristic of the evil spirit." (Barnes' *General History*, p. 97.) At the time of the Moslem conquest, the Persians were scarcely "courageous, bold, and dashing in war," though self-indulgence and luxury were conspicuous. Al Kindi quotes as referring to the delicacies of the Persians, the words of Khaled, the Arabian general, after the battle of Walaja in 633, "By the Lord! even if there were no Faith to fight for, it were worth our while to fight for these." (Muir's *Caliphate*, London, ed., 1892, pp. 52 f.) The common people were then, as now, probably weary bigots and subjects, drearily content with that which they must of necessity endure. In any event, what single objectionable trait of the old Persians has Mohammedanism eradicated?

It is sometimes claimed for Islam that it abolished intemperance and the use of wine. This is indeed the doctrine of the Koran. "They will ask thee concerning wine and lots: Answer, in both there is great sin and also some things of use unto men; but their sinfulness is greater than their use." (Sura ii, 216.) "O true believers, surely wine, and lots, and images, and divining arrows are an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them that ye may prosper." (Sura v. 92.) And yet some Moslems do not understand that the Koran forbids wine. They read Sura, xvi, 69, "And among fruits ye have the palm and the vine, from which ye get wine and healthful nutriment," and understand with our "moderate drinkers," that only excess is forbidden. Islam, however, has undoubtedly discouraged the use of wine. It is doubtful, however, whether it can long continue to do so. Drunkenness has become a not uncommon vice, with its accompanying physical results

on wives and sisters. There are wine shops in Hamadan, patronized openly by Moslems. Drunkards stumble along the streets. The official class largely uses wine. At a dinner given recently in Teheran by a prominent Persian, a toast in honour of some member of the royal family was drunk by every Persian in wine. A Moslem driver with whom I left Teheran, had two whiskey bottles from which he took unconcealed and frequent drinks. "Civilization," it must be admitted, has set the fashion for the "higher classes," while members of the Gregorian Church are the wine-sellers in many places. Let us accept our shame. Let Islam confess its failures. It has been unable to wait for the heaven which Mohammed described, "A picture of the Paradise which is promised to the God-fearing! Therein are rivers of water which corrupt not; and rivers of milk whose taste changeth not; and rivers of wine delicious to those who quaff it." (Sura xlvii, 16.)

One virtue which the ancient Persians are reputed to have possessed the modern Persians notably lack. They are notorious liars. Falsehood has sunk deep into the national character as one of its most prominent features. In high life and low, in relations with officials and in common intercourse on the highway, the Persian seems as ready to lie as to tell the truth, some say more ready. "The word of an Englishman," "the word of a Christian," are expressions used among Moslems as guarantees of reliability not to be found in "the word of a Mussulman." Whether the Persians of to-day are greater liars than the Persians of the seventh century cannot be said, but Shiah Mohammedanism has not discouraged the vice or given the people that robust love of truth which is a fruit of Christianity. The deceit and hypocrisy of the mol-

lahs are sufficient nowadays to school the whole people into a contempt for absolute truthfulness, from which it will take generations to rescue them, when Islam withdraws before the Cross.

Islam is not contending at all against the spread of the opium habit. While not responsible for it—the native doctors probably have to bear that responsibility—it wages no such war on it as the Christian Church wages on intemperance and opium. The habit has spread like wild-fire, and medical missionaries, who see the inside of Persian life, declare that the habit is as common as it is in China. This curse and the lust authorized by the Koran, are visibly eating out the life of Persia. Her manhood is rotting away. The mollahs raise no voice of protest.

In the absence of home-life and in the midst of a general weakening of morals, the place of the child in Persia may be imagined. There are families where there is mutual love, no doubt, and where the child is loved, and, after a fashion, trained, but these are rare. The child, as a rule, grows up as it can, and then is tossed into life equipped only to hasten the decadence, not the progress of the nation. The frequency of divorce, the animal conception of marriage, depreciates the value of the tie between parent and child. One of the mission schools for girls is made up largely of children of whom their parents wish to be rid, or whose mothers, having married again, are charged by their new husbands to dispose of the encumbrances of the previous marriage. In Sareh, at the *chappar khaneh,* or post house, we saw a poor blind boy, shivering in the winter wind, in a mere rag of a shirt as his only garment, kicked about like a dog, and turned out into the village streets to beg, because as the fruit of a previous marriage he had no

real place in the windowless den, into which his mother had married as a refuge from her last divorce. There will be mother-love wherever there are mothers, but Shiah Mohammedanism does nothing to save it from extinction.

With a moral result so unsatisfactory, it is scarcely worth while to ask what the technical religious fruits of Shiah Mohammedanism have been. It would be unjust not to observe, however, what sort of a priesthood it has developed. The mollahs are Mohammedanism in Persia. They are both its fruit and its root. In his nineteen years of wide experience in Persia, Dr. George W. Holmes, thinks he has met one mollah who was sincere, though a very ignorant man. There are doubtless not a few others, but the ecclesiastical class of Shiahism cannot be surpassed for fanaticism, bigotry, hypocrisy, and ignorance of the world and history by the priests of any other non-savage faith. Curzon maintains that Conolly was well within the mark when he wrote of the mollahs of one of Shiahism's most holy shrines, " The greater number of these are rogues, who only take thought how to make the most of the pilgrims that visit the shrine. From the high priest to the seller of bread, all have the same end; and, not content with the stranger's money, those in office about the saint appropriate to themselves the very dues for keeping his temple in order." (Curzon's *Persia,* vol. I, p. 163.)

Islam, as a religion, apart from its ethics, has proved in Persia to be what it has elsewhere shown itself, a religion of doctrine and form, and not of life. It does not provide for fellowship with God. He spoke by Mohammed, and was still. The Koran is the last sound of His voice human ears have heard. Of a living God speaking to the soul and dwelling there as

the light of our light and the life of our life, it does not dream. He, the Eternal One, sits on His throne and watches His mighty, fatalistic machinery roll out the unchangeably predestined result. He speaks not. According to the real life of Islam, neither does He hear. The deaf and dumb God drives the engines of fate. "Inshallah," "Kismet," "What am I?" The Koran that has branded woman as an animal, has resulted in doing the same with man. The inadequacy of Islam's conception of fellowship with God is shown with sufficient clearness in the Koran's prescriptions regarding prayer. "Observe prayer at sunset, till the first darkening of the night, and the daybreak reading; truly the daybreak reading hath its witnesses; and watch unto it in a portion of the night: this shall be an excess in the service" (*i. e.*, a work of supererogation). (Sura xvii., 81, 82.) "Observe prayer at each morning, at the close of the day, and at the approach of night—verily good deeds drive away evil deeds." (Sura xi., 116.) "Recite the portions of the Book which have been revealed to thee and discharge the duty of prayer: verily prayer restraineth from the filthy and blameworthy." (Sura xxix., 44.) "Think within thine own self on God, with lowliness and with fear, and without loud-spoken words, at even and at morn." (Sura lxxxvii., 204.) "Turn then (in prayer) thy face towards the Sacred Mosque (of Mecca), and wherever ye be, turn your faces in that direction." "Seek help through patience and prayer: verily God is with the patient." (Sura ii., 138, 148.) "O ye true believers, come not to prayer when drunken, but wait till you can understand what ye utter." (Sura iv., 46.) "When ye have ended the prayer (during war or battle), make mention of God, standing, and sitting, and reclining on your sides; and

as soon as you are secure, observe prayer: verily, to the faithful, prayer is a prescribed duty, and for stated hours." (Sura iv., 104.) "O believers! when ye address yourselves to prayer, then wash your faces, and your hands up to the elbow, and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles." (Sura cxiv., 8.) Perhaps half of the Mussulmans of Persia respond to the Muezzin's call, but to these and the other half who are unable to pray or undesirous, religion is a matter not of life, fellowship, and progress in God, but of assent to a dead man's message, delivered twelve centuries ago, of compliance with a few ritualized forms, and of a kind of cheerful and dependent assent to the drearily irresistible decrees of the Divine Fate, "the Compassionate, the Merciful."

The picture must not be left wholly unrelieved, however. Islam taught, and would teach now, if men could hear, a mighty truth. As Carlyle says: "Islam means that we must submit to God, that our whole strength lies in resigned submission to Him, whatsoever He do to us. . . . It has ever been held the highest wisdom for a man not only to submit to necessity—necessity will make him submit—but to know and believe well that the stern thing which necessity had ordered, was the wisest, the best, the thing wanted there; to cease his frantic pretension of scanning this great God's world in his small fraction of a brain; to know that it had verily, though deep beyond his soundings, a just law, that the soul of it was good; that his part in it was to conform to the law of the whole, and in devout silence follow that; not questioning it, obeying it as unquestionable." (Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship*, chap. ii.) This is part of the truth about our relation to God, but it is truth, truth, however, which the Shiah mollahs, not knowing God, can-

not teach, and the Shiah Mussulmans, the vast majority of whom are unable to read, can not learn from the Koran for themselves. Persian Moslems have learned just enough of the truth to make them prompt to lay the responsibility of their own shortcomings and transgressions on God. "It was fate," they say. The name of God is constantly on their lips. "Allah" is one of the most frequently spoken words in Persia, the "Allah" of the great machine. This conception of God, limited by their range, has bred a sort of contentment under the hard and oppressive conditions of their life. "It is God's will. It could not be otherwise." And so they endure what we, who believe that nothing is God's will that is not right and true, would reform or overthrow. This contentment, which a light disposition colours with humour and even cheerfulness, covers up much of what is darkest in the people's life, and deceives the hurried glance. Under it, however, is the cancer of a dead religion and a rotten national life. I have been writing, of course, of the Persians, and not of the Turks in Persia, who are a virile people, though much of what I have written would apply to them, nor of the Gregorians and Nestorians, who have had a large measure of the truth.

The Koran, also, can not be condemned in a breath. There is very much in it that is objectionable, horrible, but it can be, also, a really helpful book to the Christian. Much of Thomas à Kempis is anticipated here, and amid its constant call to war is heard the quiet call to the soul to rest itself in God; but the Shiah Mussulman does not know the Koran. He cannot read it, and his mollahs do not lead him by its call into that life of quietness and confidence, wherein is strength. They stop, as he must, with a fatalistic, contented en-

durance of what is, as the divine will, to be accepted, never to have its divine credentials scrutinized.

It is fortunate for both Church and State that this is the Persian attitude of mind. Otherwise the lifetime of their corruptions and abuses would be short, but of the decadence of the State I shall not speak here. In its system of village government and administration, a vital question in these Oriental lands, which are made up not of cities or of farm-houses, but of villages, in its civil service, in its conduct of general internal affairs, in its moral atmosphere, the Kingdom of Persia is moving with rapid steps the way of the suicide. I do not think I ever talked fifteen minutes with any Persian who did not himself introduce this subject, and hope for the absorption of his country by Russia or England, or its division between them. Of all the past glory of the nation almost nothing is left—barring a few piles of stone ruins—save two great wrecks, a wrecked government and a wrecked people.

Shiah Mohammedanism is not responsible for all this. Other agencies have been at work. The process of decay had set in before on the plain of Nehavend, just over the lofty peaks of Elvend, Nowan overthrew Firuzon, and subjected Persia to the dominance of Islam. But a religion is to be judged not only by its ability to foster life, where life exists, but also by its ability to arrest decay. A faith must lift the fallen. It must also prevent the upright from falling. And this Islam has not done. Its Arabian followers dominated Persia. They also doomed it, for, instead of being able to arrest decay in a civilized or semi-civilized people, Islam itself contains the seeds of decay. Rodwell states the case mildly, as each passing year

shows, when he says, "There are elements in it on which mighty nations, and conquering—though not, perhaps, durable—empires can be built up: for it must be admitted that no Moslem State appears to have had in it the progressive life which Christianity, in addition to its diviner gifts, has imparted to the western nations." (Rodwell's *Koran,* preface, p. xxiii.) Why it should be so, Hobart unhesitatingly points out. "An evil code of ethics, enjoined by the national faith, and accepted, by its appeal to a divine origin, as the final and irrevocable standard of morality, presents an insuperable barrier to the regeneration and progress of a nation." (Hobart's *Islam and Its Founder,* p. 229.) All intelligent Persians acknowledge the downward movement.

The late Shah veneered the land with a few civilized garnishments, the telegraph, the post, a few roads, but most of the importations with which he sought to adorn the inevitable decadence of his country, have themselves shared in the general movement. A Persian general in Irak-Ajemi expressed it, when he said that things had been bad, that they were very bad now, and that they would grow worse and worse. It has been so ever. It will ever be so. Islam has lifted savages. It has slain, like a savage, all civilization.

In the great work which will open upon the coming wreck of the Persian and Ottoman empires, the Nestorians, and Armenians, and Jews, among whom the missionary work now finds its field are to play an important part. However far the Oriental Christian Churches may have wandered from the truth, their superior honesty, and truthfulness, and better morals have commanded in Persia, at least, some measure of respect from the Moslems. Undoubtedly they do treat these "Christians" with contempt, and look down

often on their ancient Churches "with compassion and disdain," and Sir William Muir's opinion is as discerning and judicious as usual, when he declares, "In establishing an Eastern Propaganda, for which the path is now being thrown so marvellously open, it would be a fatal mistake to attempt the work hand in hand with the unreformed Churches. The contempt of centuries would attach to it. The attempt, so far as it concerns its influence on the Moslem world, is doomed to failure." (Muir's *Sweet First Fruits,* London ed., preface, xvii.) Only the clean, strong spirit of evangelical Christianity can do the work that is to be done, and this spirit ever increasing numbers of the members of the old Churches are receiving from the missionaries from the West, and as they receive it, they are becoming the best and at present the only tolerated evangelists to the Moslems. Yet, in our just judgment upon the Oriental Churches for their great sloth, for their treason to the pure faith, for their responsibility in part for the rise and spread of Islam, we need charitably to remember the pressure to which these Churches have been subjected, and against which they have boldly maintained for twelve centuries the name of Christian. For these centuries the so-called Code of Omar illustrates the attitude of the dominant faith toward the members of Christian communities: "The dress of both sexes and their slaves must be distinguished by stripes of yellow; forbidden to appear on horseback, if they rode on mule or ass, the stirrups and knobs of the saddle must be of wood; their graves level with the ground, and the mark of the devil on the lintel of their doors; the children prohibited from being taught by Moslem masters, and the race, however able or well qualified, proscribed from aspiring to any office of emolument or trust; be-

sides the existing churches, spared at the conquest, no new buildings to be erected for the purposes of worship; free entry into all the holy places allowed at pleasure to any Moslem; no cross to remain outside, nor any church-bell rung." (Muir's *Caliphate,* p. 147.) These disabilities were a gradual growth, and their asperity has been somewhat softened, as some of them destroyed themselves, but the bitter, tyrannical, exclusive spirit of them has ever been the spirit of Islam toward the Oriental Christians. Weak and corrupt these Churches are, as needy almost of the pure gospel as the surrounding Mussulmans, but that they have maintained their existence under Sunni and Shiah, and almost every form of oppression, demands our admiration and respect.

How far distant is the day when the free evangelization of the Shiah Mohammedans may begin, no one can tell. There are many who believe that a British and Russian protectorate or a British and Russian division of the country cannot be far distant. The finances and the internal administration of the country alike, are in a condition ominously foreboding some necessary change. Meanwhile there was under Nasr-i-din, and there is under Muzafr-i-din a degree of religious toleration, which would be wholly surprising and illogical, if it were not, as has been shown, that the Persian State is not the Moslem Church. The late Shah maintained, from the beginning of his reign, a struggle with the mollahs, in which his aim was to strengthen the State at the expense of the ecclesiastics. This struggle, together with his visits to Europe, and his natural disposition, inclined him toward a measure of toleration denied to the missionaries in Turkey. What Freeman says is true, that "no Mohammedan ruler has really put his subjects of other religions on

the same footing as his Mohammedan subjects. He must treat them as the inferiors of his Mohammedan subjects, as men whose religion is tolerated, and no more." Freeman's *The Turk in Europe,* p. 25). The Shah has made no pretensions to granting religious liberty and equality, but he has tolerated and even commended the missionary work, and has not barred the way of Moslems desiring to hear the gospel. The principles and prejudices of the Shiah, make him less kindly disposed to unbelievers, Christians and Jews, than the Sunni, but though often threatened and made to fear, the missionaries have dwelt in peace, and number among their friends both mollahs and sayids of a religion, whose Bible enjoins, "Fight thou against them (Jews and Christians) . . . until they pay tribute by right of subjection and they be reduced low." (Sura ix. 30.) And so in a place made by God's hands they wait, and back of them the Church waits, until "the day dawn and the shadows flee away," and Shiah Mohammedanism may be brought face to face with Christ.

XXV

GLIMPSES OF LIFE ON A PERSIAN HIGHWAY

THERE are two prevailing modes of travel in Persia, on foot and astride. The former is not popular. It is amazing to see what endurance the apparently indolent Persian, who will move when he must, and will work on the same terms, possesses, and with what untiring, unresting zeal he will work in some occupations, such as that of chavadar, which bring small remuneration, involve great risks, are full of hardships and can force no man to choose them. The chavadar is the Persian freight-car conductor. He owns a number of horses, and carries freight of all sorts, human and inanimate, to any part of Persia or over into Turkey. But no Persian will walk when he can ride, even though to ride he must heap himself above a load borne by a patient, staggering donkey, one of those animals which make a mute, almost heart-breaking appeal for a belief in the immortality of brutes. "Anything to do my work, to keep my feet off the ground," is the motto of the Persian travelling. Those who ride go astride, women and all. The camel drivers often ride with both feet on one side, and when Dr. Vanneman accompanied the Shah's harem from Tabriz to Teheran, as the only man the Shah would trust, much of his work was to patch up camel drivers, who had fallen off in their sleep. The donkey riders sometimes ride with both legs dangling on one side within a few inches of the ground. All this is ultra laziness, however. The trousered women ride alone, or sit behind

the men. The side-saddle of a foreign woman is a source of constant amazement in the country and villages. "Why she has no legs," cry the people on one side. "Yes, she has," cry those on the other, "they are both on this side of her." And so she rides along, a Frangee monstrosity.

Not all Persians go a-travelling, but all go who can. The four vital elements of Islam are the prayers, the fasting, the sacred fifth of the income, and the pilgrimages. A more consistent religion of works, as the matter has turned out in practice, could scarcely be invented. So on pilgrimages go all who can. There are many reasons for a Persian's remaining a settled part of one community, and for his children's standing in his place after him, but the travelling instinct has been cultivated by centuries of Islamic influence, and the highways are full of life and movement, fuller than such a thin population would justify, were it not for the religious obligation that drives thousands to waste in this way what has been painfully earned and is direfully needed at home. The travellers bound for the religious shrines, Kerbela, Meshed, Kum, converge into the great roads running thither, and the student of the people's life sees it unbared here.

Down one of these great highways from Tabriz to Hamadan, we travelled one October. Next to Teheran, Tabriz is the largest and most important city in Persia. It is the distributing point to North-western and much of Western Persia of the importations from Europe, especially Russia, which would fain control the trade from the North. Russian oil, candles, and sugar pour down from the North and practically monopolize the North-western Persia markets at least. From the South great caravans bring rugs, tobacco,

dates, honey, etc., and show the traveller the name of Bagdad in good Roman letters on the bales. Of all these caravans on this highway Tabriz is the point of departure or destination.

A Persian highway is not a manufactured road. It owes nothing to the hand of man. His foot treads it, if he is so mean as to walk, but he spends on it neither an effort nor a copper coin, and the functions of national and local government in the country do not include the construction or maintenance of either bridges or roads. Accordingly there are, in one sense, almost no roads. The highways, untouched by wheels, save when some Khan or civilized traveller makes the painful attempt, or on the Teheran-Resht or Teheran-Kum roads, are simply a congeries of paths, diminishing to one in a constricted place, and increasing to a score or more on a broad plain, where a caravan of donkeys will move along abreast. No one digs a ditch. No one drains a bog. No one removes a stone. The road was unsurveyed, ungraded, and is uncared for save by a kind Providence, who makes His rain and frost, and snow and wind to come alike upon the just and the unjust track.

The roads of Azerbaijan, the North-western province of Persia, of which Tabriz is the capital, have been infested by three kinds of thieves; the regular robbers, who have pluck to attack travellers, the authorized guards, who are often ex-robbers, or robbers who have lost their pluck, and been appointed guards, so as to have legal authority to extort a small fee from a larger number, and the vampire customs-house rascals. Azerbaijan is a fertile, populous country, and there are customs-houses on all its important roads. Baggage or freight is not examined, but a small fee is levied. Some one finds a road much used and

offers the governor so much for the privilege of establishing a customs-house.* This helps to line the governor's purse, and so fulfil the purpose for which he is governor and paid for his office, and it fastens the leeches upon the roads to bleed a little each passer-by who has baggage or goods. No service is rendered in return, either by the leech or the government. The traveller must be—or pay for—his own police, and make his own roads, or be satisfied with the uncorrupted face of nature. The people do not love the customs-houses. Their ruins are to be found on many highways. Soldiers returning home, or marching by, love to demolish the impositions, and not infrequently their exactions become so great that some angry popular demonstration forces the government to interpose a check. Near Taswich we passed a great building in ruins, thanks to the momentary flare of a sense of power and justice in a crowd of ragged, discharged soldiers, who, having served a government which takes and never gives, returning home without pay, took vengeance on the legalized throttlers of travel and trade. On the Tabriz highway, which runs into Persian Kurdistan, below Mianduab, there are no customs-houses. The government does not call all these establishments for the destruction of prosperity "customs-houses." When complaints are made, it will say, "Oh, that is not a customs-house; the man simply has a right to collect a small sum for each box or bale carried by." For that right some government official received his *peshkash,* or bribe.

The dread of the Evil Eye is heavy upon the Per-

* Recently to the disgust of many Persians, the custom administration as well as the post, has been placed in charge of efficient and honest Belgians.

sian. He shudders at the evil which a complimentary word about his child will bring. He puts the bone of an animal, a horse or a donkey, in the wall of a new house. A skull, or a jaw-bone, or a leg is over the doorway of many a village gate, or stable, vineyard, or house. In one wall I saw the whole skeleton of a donkey, buried in this public and ghastly way that the Evil Eye might not affect the garden within. Among the ignorant the cold, still eye of the camera lens is a terrifying thing. At Khokhurt, before its silent gaze, a group of children clung together, and then fled in shivering terror lest the glittering brass ring in the black box were the Evil Eye. The camera is often a safer defence than fire-arms. A crowd of naked, savage beggars fell upon us once ready for supplication or theft, as might be most expedient. The whole crowd fled in fear, running like deer across the desert, crying, "Oh, he's killing us, he's killing us," when the clear, steady camera eye was pointed at them.

Bartimæus sits by the wayside, blind and begging, as he did when Jesus saw him and gave him vision. Often his home is in a pile of stones and he will rise as the sound of the horses' steps comes near and walk out into the road lifting up his sightless eyes and asking in Allah's name. But the lepers are most pitiable of all. Many cities and towns have each its little group of these representatives of uncleanness and sin. They sit at the gate or by the side of the road or against the wall of a bridge, wrapped about, desolate, only awaiting deliverance. Near Tabriz there is a little settlement at the foot of "Leper Hill." The lepers do not cry out complaints. Many of them do not ask with words, but the poor hand is stretched out for alms and the marred and wrecked visage, the ruin of a human face is lifted up with the piteous wail, "O

Creator God! O Creator God!" The appeal is to Him, the Creator God, with whom is mercy and from whom is all deliverance. That leper cry sounds the depths of all power and peace, "O Creator God!"

Another denizen of the highway who arouses feelings not of pity and sympathy, but of intense loathing and disgust, is the dervish. No one who has not been in the East, where holiness is synonymous with asceticism, can understand the full force of the motives, which led Jesus to lay Himself open to the epithets, "a gluttonous man and a wine bibber." It was absolutely necessary that He should make it plain that asceticism is not holiness. But Jesus's ideals do not prevail in the East, and the ascetic is the holy man. Every man who aspires to religious reputation or influence must present at least the external appearance of an ascetic life. The *beerun* or public apartment of the mollahs must be bare and unadorned, rich and effeminate as their *anderun* or inner apartment may be, and the supposed ascetic life of the dervish secures for him the greatest reverence on the part of the religious. The more ascetic he is, the more ascetic he appears to be, the greater his reputation for holiness. As a result the dervish is the most blasphemous and loathsome thing I have seen in any land. He is the denial of God in more points than the open sinner. He is the personification of that which God detests. He is so unclean as to be foul and diseased. He does not work. He has no divine virility. "Quit you like men" are meaningless words to him. His ambition is to attain to the utter uselessness of the life of a dog, who is a filth breeder, not even a scavenger. He whines and cringes and holding a faith which proclaims the Christian abject and unclean, sneaks at the Christian's heel and begs from the unclean hand! I have never seen

anything to which it seemed more just and fitting that the Son of God, who loved cleanness and worked till His friends said He was beside Himself, should say, "I will spue thee out of My mouth."

Apart from the representatives of human need and suffering on one hand and of putrid religiosity on the other, the highways have their multitude of beggars, travelling or coming out from village and town to beg from the pilgrims. With some, begging is a supplementary means of increasing their income, with others it is a profession. A physical deformity is an aid but it is not indispensable, while a vigorous frame and full ability to earn an honest living are no impediments. The pilgrims have money. All their earnings many of them carry with them. They are going to Kerbela to accumulate merit, and all the merit that can be accumulated on the way by deeds of charity—whether the charity is a curse and a sin matters not—is so much gain. In the midst of these beggars and remembering that Jesus lived in just the same conditions, it is easy to understand the perplexity of those who stumble at Jesus's words, "From him that taketh away thy cloak withhold not thy coat also. Give to every one that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again."

The pilgrim caravans are of all sorts. Some are collections of poor labourers trudging on foot in a crowd. Now and then a man of sufficient standing to have "retainers," curious sycophantic parasites fostered by the peculiar conditions, rides along, followed by his satellites. Often a man with his harem is passed. The women ride in the main in kajavas or cage-like boxes, covered with red and green cloth, and balanced one on either side of a strong, sure-footed mule or horse. It is hard for the horse and it

is hard for the women who ride cramped up and roughly joggled. Many of the pilgrims on the Tabriz-Hamadan highway are from Russia. The territory taken from Persia by Russia two generations ago remains Persian in its customs and religions, and multitudes of poor and rich take the long journey (at least thirty-six days continuous travel by caravan time) to Kerbela. We saw these caravans going gaily and well equipped, and other caravans which had once been like them, returning drearily, foot-sore, and weary, ragged and plundered. For the pilgrims are pillaged by every one. They have not been accustomed to have money or to travel, and at every stopping-place they are imposed upon and defrauded. About the shrines a great crowd of harpies hovers, mollahs and adventurers, and the poor pilgrims come away at last with one of the great obligations imposed by their religion met, and with much merit laid up on high, but with money gone, new vices learned, new fanaticism developed for the defence of new superstitions. The sight of one returning pilgrimage of Russian peasants I shall never forget, as begrimed and exhausted it toiled up a steep and rocky mountain. Two horses were left and were ridden by the women. One man led an old blind man by a rope. The rabble crept along in rags. "That is the way they come back," said one of the Persian servants with us. The sophisticated come back differently, but as Mecca spreads the cholera over the whole area from which its pilgrimage is fed, so Kerbela and Meshed especially spread poverty, vice, and superstition over Persia.

The pilgrims on this highway are all travelling to Kerbela, two days' journey Southwest of Bagdad, where Hassan, the son of Ali, who was Mohammed's cousin, and married his daughter Fatima, was killed.

Ali is the great prophet of Shiah Mohammedanism, and the Shiahs hold that both temporal and spiritual power should have descended in the hands of his posterity. Hassan and Hosein, his two sons, Shiahism regards as its martyrs, and celebrates their death each year in the month of Moharrem. Kerbela, accordingly, is its great shrine. Though in Turkish and so Sunni territory, it is the centre of the Shiah faith. Its great theological centre is here. Here its dead desire to be buried. Hither its disciples come on their arduous pilgrimages, bearing the bones of the dead in long, suggestive boxes tied on the caravan horses, and at once distinguishable.

The pilgrimage is not productive of humility. On approaching a village the travellers will set up a long wail to let the people know they are passing through, and the simple people will run out and kiss their hands and ask for their blessing, or a little share in the great merit the pilgrimage earns. Coming out of the city of Khoi one fine morning, we saw the long, broad road filled with people bidding a large party of holy pilgrims farewell. Returning, laden with sanctity, the pilgrims have yet greater blessings to bestow. A company of well-dressed Russian Moslems passed us one day, the women clad in men's clothes, even to the Russian boots, and riding astride, and at each village the hands of this company were kissed repeatedly. Raymond Lull's words are suggested at every turn: "We see the pilgrims travelling away into distant lands to seek Thee, while Thou art so near that every man, if he would, might find Thee in his own house and chamber. . . . The pilgrims are so deceived by false men whom they meet in taverns and churches, that many of them, when they return home, show themselves to be far worse than they were when they

set out on their pilgrimage." Men who have visited one of the Shiah shrines are called thereafter, as a title of honour, by the name of the shrine, "Meshedi," "Kerbelai," while those who have made the great pilgrimage to Mecca are called "Hadji," or "pilgrim."

One day, on the Tabriz road, near Ticon-tappeh, we met a large mollah, well clad, riding a fine horse, who greeted us cordially, and said in reply to our greeting that he was going to Kerbela for the seventh time. We asked why the arduous pilgrimages were undertaken. "They bring great holiness," he replied. We observed respectfully that he must be a very holy man, to which he assented with a deprecating nod of the head. "What good will the pilgrimage do," we inquired, "if the heart be wrong within?" "That is true," he said, "it would do no good," and he quoted a Persian ode about the two shrines, Medina-Mecca without, and the heart within, and the futility of visiting the former unless the latter be made holy and sweet. We asked him of the cost of the pilgrimages. He admitted that they drained the country of money, that they took the life-time savings of many and squandered them, that the money wasted would suffice to make good roads, drain the bogs, irrigate the desert plains, care for the diseased and the poor. "Our religion," he added, "provides for all these things, too." "Yes," rejoined Mr. Coan, of Urumia, who was with us, "it may provide for them, but where are they? Our book says a tree is to be judged by its fruits. Your religion produces unhappy homes, bad roads, poverty, waste, desert, swamps, and desolation. If it does not produce, it tolerates all these, with no attempt at all at remedy. Have you ever heard of the fruits of a pure Christianity? They are happy homes, commerce, and close social relations of peace, and

progress among nations, comfort, thrift, prosperity and love." "Yes, Sahib," replied the mollah, "it is a great subject." The open mind was as absent as the open heart.

Other Mussulmans have two replies to this argument, however. Some say that the Christians being the devil's children, and the devil being the god of this world, he gives his children all present and carnal comforts, while the Moslem looks for his reward in the world to come. But this is the complete abandonment of the teachings of Mohammed and the practice of Moslems from his day until now. Mohammed had no more consuming conviction than that there is one God, the living and true, and that He is the world's sovereign. With him there had been no atheistic abdication of the sovereignty in favour of the evil one. And as for carnal comforts, the prospect and promise of them have been the life-power of Islam. Others meet the appeal to the fruits of religion by saying, "These are the dark ages of Islam. There was a time when Mussulmans held the learning of the world, and carried light everywhere, but now the reaction has come, and the light of Islam is shaded for a time, just as in the Dark Ages of Christianity the light of Christianity was obscured. Compare the fruits of Islam in its luminous days with the fruits of the contemporary Christianity." To this there are obvious replies, but they do not always convince a man who knows just enough to know nothing of lucid reasoning or historic verity.

The Persian dislikes to grow grey. He is especially averse to a white beard. The shaved head saves him from grey hair. Accordingly when a man of long, lustrous black beard finds it turning silver, he suddenly appears with it dyed a glorious red with the dye

of the blood plant, which is also used to colour the finger nails and hands, with a stain that resembles the stain of nicotine, or of the juice of walnut husks, though it is less temporary than the latter. One of the most common and unfailingly ludicrous sights of the highway is an old red-bearded man, clad in rags, riding a small donkey, and keeping the little beast on a trot by working his half-naked legs, ending in great ark-like shoes, in and out like two pump-handles. The feet do not touch the donkey at all, but the swinging motion is understood, and so long as it is kept up, the swinging red-bearded patriarch and the wee, patient beast skip along merrily.

Bread and cheese are the staple articles of food on the highway or at home. The cheese is white and sour. The bread is often delicious, if made of clean flour and well baked. It is almost invariably eaten damp, however, so that it may be easily bent and serve as spoon and fork. Pocket-knife or none is the rule as to knives. Sometimes there are wooden spoons. As a rule all dip into a common dish, as our Lord and His disciples did in the Upper Room. The bread is thin and baked in the North in long, oblong, "loaves," two feet or less in length and half as broad, and the thickness of extra heavy, coarse wrapping paper. In the South these sheets are round. There are other kinds of bread baked as cakes, or on hot pebbles, each of which leaves its indentation, but the common bread is baked in urn-like, upright earthen jars, submerged in the ground, similar in name and character to the ovens used by the Jews in Old Testament times (Lev. ii. 4; 1 Kings xvii. 2; Isa. xliv. 15).

At Khokhurt, journeying South, the appearance of the houses suddenly changes. Only flat roofs, used in the summer as the sleeping places of the village

folk, were seen before. Here the roofs are all domed. There is no wood for use as rafters, so each roof is made up of one, two, three, or more domes, each with a small hole at the top, serving as the only entrance of light and air, save the door. In Bagdad and other Southern cities the spaces between the domes are filled up, making the roofs level and the houses warm in the cold and cool in the warm weather. In the villages the domes remain, resembling a great community of grey ant hills. The single room of such a house gives no impression of the number of occupants. From subterranean caverns, through narrow and low-roofed passage ways, sheep, horses, cows, oxen emerge, and in the early morning march past the bed of the traveller, who has come in belated and been given shelter for the night.

As the traveller through Poland is surprised to see so few churches in the villages through which the railroad runs, so the absence of mosques in the villages of Persia is a constant surprise. To be sure, a Shiah mosque, which is never adorned with minarets, is not so conspicuous as the Sunni mosque, but in most of the villages through which we passed there seemed to be no prayer-house, nor was the voice of the muezzin heard, calling the faithful to prayer; but Islam is evident in the coarse conduct and words which greet European women, in the fidelity of some believers to the hours of morning and evening prayer wherever they may be, and in the general prevalence everywhere of that demoralization of life, that decay of fibre and sinew which one would expect in a country where Islam, on the contention of its most intelligent defenders, and in spite of the blazing Christian light about it, is in its "Dark Ages."

One sees no drunkenness on the highways. Much

may be justly said regarding the absurd plea that Islam precluded the use of intoxicants, but the highway people are sober and its life a cheery, social, mutually helpful life. One chavadar helps another out of a bog or a drift. If one man lies to you about the road or distance, another may possibly tell you the truth. While the majority follow the command given to the seventy, and salute no man by the way, many give a cheerful greeting and wish God's blessing even on the life and journey of an infidel. One Persian was able to go so far as " Bon jour, monsieur," but he answered the reply in his native tongue. The wealthier Persians, who have travelled at all, usually know French, but the native speech or speeches—Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Syriac, Hebrew, Kurdish, Arabic,—are the languages of the road.

The Persian fields and hills are absolutely devoid of trees, save where they grow by the water courses or in the semi-tropical districts. In the fall all is sere and brown, and the great flocks of sheep and goats driven out from some village or from some camp of the black huts of Kedar, crop over what the civilized eye sees only as a waste lacking any green herb or nutritious thing. Children of foreigners, born in Persia, look with surprise and amusement at the little, worthless tails of the sheep at home. They have been used to seeing sheep whose tails hang down behind as heavy and large often as a ham. The tail is wholly fat, and in a good sheep gives enough fat for the cooking of the mutton, and in Persia meat is served swimming in grease. Sometimes, though seldom, the tail grows so heavy that, as in Palestine, a little cart must be attached behind on which the sheep can carry around its tail. What a mighty moral is hidden here! Goats are cheaper

than chickens for food. We bought one at Khoshmagam for fifty cents. A man came into the yard, and before our door killed it with his pocket-knife. Without other implements he cleaned it. A man stole its head and feet while the servant was not looking. The dogs came in and licked up the blood and cleared off all traces of the butcher. An old woman came and prayed for the skin. The butcher brought the goat in on a tray. In a quarter of an hour our fifty cents were changed before our eyes into a tray of fresh goat meat, and there was no evidence of the process of transformation.

One of the missionaries at home from Persia on furlough, was once reported in a local paper's account of an address to have said that an unveiled woman was never seen in Persia. The local reporter knew no better, and he printed his ignorance. The missionary had seen more women's faces unveiled than veiled. In the cities and fanatical places the women of well-to-do homes are veiled upon the streets, but the poorer women of the cities, and the great multitudes of village women, while occasionally drawing their head-coverings over their mouths, go about with open face. But this emancipation is no evidence of liberty. Their life is a perpetual petty slavery but many do not know that it is slavery, because they have grown up into a stolid endurance of its repression and its littleness.

The day before reaching Hamadan, the intervening ridges slip away and the snow-clad peaks of the Elvend Mountains, which overlook Hamadan, and the wide, fertile plain, where Ecbatana lay of old, rise up cool, white and, in the warm weather, inviting and promising. But they are many miles away. The Persian highway gives the traveller many a far away vision. Above all others, there is one of a far away

glory, before which the radiance of the Elvend peaks under the sunlight pales and dies away, when Persia even shall be full of the great glory, not of snow-peak, fertile valley and quiet village, but of the Lord; and, after all, why should it be far away?

XXVI

ON THE CORPSE ROAD

IT is a grim name for a road, and it is a gruesome thing to travel and to lodge with corpses for companions. But it is a name the highway from Persia to the Moslem shrines on the Euphrates well deserves. For centuries streams of pilgrims have poured down from the great plateau to the Mesopotamian plain to worship at the tomb of Ali at Nejef, and to bury their dead in the holy soil of Kerbela. In past years the pilgrims were numbered by multitudes, and the dead could scarcely rest well if not laid under the shadow of the shrines at Kerbela, whose sanctity even Mecca can scarce surpass, but the growing exactions of Turkish customs-houses, the desire of the late Shah to secure for the shrine at Meshed—within his own dominions—the profit of the pilgrimages, the prohibition of the importation into Turkey of bodies lately deceased—thus giving the ardour and enthusiasm of relatives time to cool,—have all tended to diminish the number of the dead whose bones zealous friends carry over the many miles to rest beside Hosein's. But even still, the traveller passes scores of the long boxes, borne on horses or mules, each of which contains the bones of a true believer in the Prophet.

Properly speaking the Corpse Road is not a road, save here and there. It is the trail of paths over which caravans go from Persia to Bagdad, converging in Persia near Kermanshah, where from Teheran, Tabriz, Hamadan and Ispahan, East, North and South, the routes conjoin. It is in the main the

trail over which the armies of Darius and Cyrus, Alexander and Seleucus must have marched, and over which the fervent hosts of Islam drove the last of the Chosroes until on the plains of Nehavend Persia was subjected to the Caliphate. Great history was made on the mountains and plains over which the Corpse Road runs. Its present course may be traced by those who wish to follow it upon the map, from Hamadan through Assadabad, Kanagaver, Besitun, Sahneh to Kermanshah and thence through Harunabad, Kerind, Sarpul, Kasr-i-Shirin, in Persia, and Khanakin, Shahraban and Yacubieh in Turkey, to Bagdad and Kerbela, which is two or three days' journey South-west of the city of the Caliphs. When a score of years ago the Shah of Persia made a pilgrimage to Kerbela, the road was put in good order, bridges were built, bogs were drained, rocks were removed, and down the precipitous side of the Zagros mountains, where the plateau suddenly falls away to the low valleys which run out to the Mesopotamia plains, a good "switch back" road was constructed, protected by stone walls. Traces of this beneficent wall remain, but nothing has been done for the great highway since. In the winter the mountain sections are like slippery precipices, and the plains great bogs; but though trade has multiplied many fold, and the cost of a good road would be repaid in ten years, nothing is done. With that shameless and contemptible acceptance of existing conditions, which is one of the fruits of the fatalism of Islam, traders, pilgrims and chavadars, who are the freight carriers, resign themselves to the facts. "This is Persia," they say or "This is Turkey; what is the use?"

On the Persian side of the border, the caravanserais have in the main fallen into ruins. In many places there were once durable brick inns. Shah Abbas in

his day built so many that every stone or brick caravanserai is attributed to him. From Kasr-i-Shirin to Meshed, right across Persia, tradition says he planted a line of caravanserais to facilitate travel and trade. In Turkey the inns are substantial and capacious, with large open squares in the centre, around which the brick stables are built, with arched recesses in the ponderous walls, open in front for the travellers. But in Persia, on the Corpse Road, and on most of the roads, horses and men share the stables and houses of the villagers. West of the Elvend mountains, which rise like a great wall behind Hamadan, the country is all Kurdish, and with Kurdish houses and fare the Corpse Road wayfarer must be content. It is a low scale of life. In many houses animals and people live near together, and in almost all they enter by the same door. The woman with the familiar spirit whom Saul consulted at Endor, and who "had with her a calf in the house" has her parallel in most Kurdish women. West of Kermanshah life falls lower and lower to the border. At Sarpul, on the site of Holwan—one of the great Persian cities in the days of the Arab conquest—the best room we could find, an earth structure with reed walls, plastered with one coating of mud, was the vestibule to an inner and darker room occupied by a cow, a calf and a donkey, who got air and light through our room, and passed to and fro through it. In many houses the horses, cattle, sheep and donkeys have separate, unlighted rooms, while the family or families lived on earth platforms a foot high in different corners of the large room, lighted only through the door and passed through by all the animals going in and out. The furniture of most of these houses is of earth. Flour, wheat and oil are kept in earthenware pots, often of great size, and unburned.

At Sarpul, where there is little snow or frost, the grain is put in a hole in the ground and covered with straw until needed. The house yards are sometimes honeycombed with the barley pits, where they are not bogged with mud. On the Turkish side of the border the people dress better, and live in more respectable houses. There are oranges, dates and vegetables to be bought. All the buildings are of better character. If the road ran through the Arab villages of the plain, as it does west of Bagdad, life would fall lower still. "When you go there," said one of the Persians with us, "you go under the earth."

The mighty past has left its monuments on the Corpse Road. At Kangaver are the ruins of the great temple of Minerva, which Dr. Van Dyke introduces in his story of *The Other Wise Man.* At Sahneh there is a cave cut into the face of a stone mountain, up which we were drawn with ropes, that we might enter this sepulchre of some unremembered king. Above the squalid little village of Besitun, called Baghistan on some maps, in a recess in the great craggy peak is the famous inscription of Darius, showing the gigantic figure of Darius with his servant and armour bearer, preceded by a chain of courtiers and recording the conqueror's achievements. Near Kermanshah is the Tagh-i-Bustan commemorating the hunting exploits of a Persian monarch of smaller mould and a much later time. The walls and mounds of Holwan cover the valley about Sarpul, and near Kasr-i-Shirin the buildings of the later Chosroes lie in great ruins, but better preserving than aught else on the Corpse Road the glory of those days when

"There was a palace of kings ere the world was waxen old,"

For miles and miles the great brown stone walls which shut in its gardens run over valley and hill. But the strength and glory of those old times are gone. The vandal people deface the inscriptions and pillage the old buildings for stone which they will not hew for themselves and brick which they will not burn. In the Tagh-i-Bustan, Fath Ali Shah the present Shah's great-grandfather has a gaudy painted carving of himself, with his long beard, his thin waist, and several of his multitudinous sons. On the face of the great carvings at Besitun, attributed to Alexander, is a tasteless carving in Arabic, made at the time of the late Shah's visit to Kerbela, by some parasite who did not scruple to spoil the mighty records of the world conqueror. Modern Persia, having never done one great thing contents itself with obliterating the traces of its past greatness.

What are the inscriptions of Darius to Kurds? They would barter them for goats. Low as their life is, however, and small as is their world, the Kurds have qualities of which the urbane Persians speak with respect and envy. There is a free and often loving home-life among them. The family has its hearth, and welcomes friend and stranger to it. In scores of Persian villages through which I have passed I have almost never seen a family group gathered in a home-like way—the children in their right places, and that playful cheerfulness present which one sees in many Kurdish homes. The Persians themselves speak of it. Yet these Kurds are practically untouched by the gospel. Into the dialect spoken by those living on the Corpse Road only a portion of one Gospel has been translated. That they are not all irrevocably committed to Islam is indicated by the large defection from Islam to the faith of the Ali Illahies, a curious sect living along

this road, at Salmeh, at Kerind, and to the North. The Ali Illahies are a distorted vindication of Henry Martyn. They have a weak faith, some say no faith, in the Koran, and regard Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, Ali, Henry Martyn and David Livingston with some of the patriarchs and prophets, as divine manifestations. When Henry Martyn came to Persia in the early years of this century he was rejected and reviled. Now, a Moslem sect deifies him. We stayed with a Sayid at Salmeh, who is a leader among the Ali Illahies of his town, and who refused money as we left, saying "We are the people of the truth, and we must receive freely all the people of God." But some said he had other motives. The sacrament of the Ali Illahies is a form of fire worship. Their dervishes have learned to eat it (or to appear to) as part of the ceremony. A fire eating dervish is not a pleasant spectacle, but no dervish is.

And the Corpse Road is full of dervishes. They prey upon the pilgrims. Each evening at the stopping places the dervishes go about from house to house begging. At Mian Tagh one came singing with ceaseless repetition, "O pilgrim friend, give to me, give to me! So make your pilgrimage blessed. O, my soul! O, my soul!" At Sarpul a white-eyed, erect Arab went about with the refrain, "God lives; God lives. There is need of bread; there is need of tea; there is need of sugar; there is need of wood. Blessed are those who give. Peace be with you!" He was followed by a curious trio, one a curly haired young negro; the others, old, thin-haired, stooping men—all bareheaded, and the negro carrying a great gnarled dervish's club. The negro was a dramatic and eloquent figure, who said, "God will give; God will give;" which he explained to mean that God had given to us,

but we would not turn it over to him; which, indeed, we would not. More complete negation of all godliness than such a dirty, idle, ignorant whining dervish it would be hard to conceive.

The Corpse Road is lined with graveyards. Everywhere in Persia the graveyards are built on the roads. The Vakil-i-dowleh, one of the most prominent men in Western Persia, told me these graves were put on the highways so that pilgrims passing by might throw a little dust on them, or give them a blessing; that from every village some one in a generation went on a pilgrimage, so that every road in Persia was sure to be traversed by pilgrim's feet. Often the graves are put directly in the road, or the road strays out of its course over to graves which are usually unmarked, and not to be identified.

Kermanshah is the only place west of Hamadan, on the road of the dead, where there is a Christian worker, until Bagdad is reached. At Kermanshah a young Nestorian and his mother are at work, finding an open door among the Jews and both opposition and encouragement among Moslems. We spent the Sabbath with them, and attended the little meeting in the morning. A dozen Jews sat along the wall, and a group of children listened attentively. As I spoke to the Jews of the coming day when this great race would recognize in Jesus their Messiah and God, several interrupted and said, "We do; we do." One old man rejoined, "I believe Jesus was the Christ; I know none better than He." At the close they asserted that of the 1,500 Jews in Kermanshah not a score disbelieved intellectually. All were convinced that the Messiah had come; that Jesus was He. "But," they said, "We hold back. We fear to confess. Who will marry our daughters? How shall we live?" But if all who

believed conferred together, their difficulties would resolve themselves. A deputation of these Jews waited upon us afterward to request that a missionary should be sent to their city; and they presented the next day before we left, a formal petition signed by their leading men to this effect. This was their petition, written in Hebrew and Persian, and sealed:

"It is petitioned by us. From the time we first investigated the Torah, we have been convinced that the Lord Christ is true, and that Jesus is He. Continually with heart and soul we have received Him. Yet, when we wish to go to the church which has been opened here, we must go in secret. The oppression of Islam is severe upon us. On this school, too, which has been opened here, the oppression has rested. Because the violence of Islam has been bitter against us twenty of the most influential of our people have accepted Islam. And now the Moslems say to us, 'Why do you not accept Islam? Why do you go the Christian way?' Every day they make charges against us to the government; and they threaten to bring great destruction upon us. We desire, therefore, that from among holy men you send a missionary to us that he may defend us from violence and evil. So, we being at peace may pray for you. By the hand of several of us who worship the Lord Christ, with the Holy Spirit. We have no further petition."

This call rested, doubtless, on a motive three parts political to one part religious. The Jews of Kermanshah desire the protection against wrong and injustice, which the mere presence of a missionary everywhere brings. But it is a call. The Jews elsewhere are hardened. In Hamadan they are now indifferent. In Bagdad, as at home, they are secularized, and live for the present world. In Kermanshah they ask.

After all, all roads here are roads of the dead. The dead lie beside them. The dead are borne over them; and the living on them and beside them are dead. They wait to be brought into life and immortality. Mohammed did not bring them life. His system, hard and deadening, has chained them fast to the dead past and to present death. And the Christian Church has been content to have it so. The Moslem missionary problem she has evaded and ignored. Why should not our day be the day when men—who, fearing God, have nothing else to fear, neither mollah, mujtahid, Shah nor Sultan—should rise up in joyous obedience, and in the spirit of the chivalric sacrifice of the Crusaders, make the "roads of death" the highways of life, on which the redeemed of the Lord walk and are glad?

XXVII

WHY CHRISTIANITY APPEALS TO THE JAPANESE

SOME years ago in Tokyo I met two groups of Japanese Christians. One was composed of the leaders of the Church of Christ, in the main strong, clear-minded, well read, intelligent men. The other was made up of women, old and young, who had not read much except the Bible, but who knew their own hearts and the hearts of others. To each of these groups I put this question, What was it in Christianity which led you to accept it?

These were the answers of the men: No. One. "It was not from any deep sense of guilt, but from the sense of dependence and of need of restfulness. This feeling was far stronger with us than any feeling of need for purification of conscience. This is the experience of many. The want of a sense of sin and its guilt is a real defect in our spiritual life." No. Two. "This is true. The sense of sin comes later on. Very few come into the Church from any idea of guilt or fear of punishment. Most are seeking rest, something to tie to. Christianity gives them peace and assurance. When they taste more they know and love more. And as they go on, the sense of guilt and danger comes, but it was not a motive at the outset." No. Three. "The virtues which Christianity promotes attracted us. This was my own experience." No. Four. "There are two classes of Christians. One class comes in through the persuasion of friends, the influence of the social network, and gradually comes to know sin. This was my experience. I was mentally convinced of my sins, but I felt no grief for sin until

later. The second class is made up of the unthinking people, who come in through the hope of getting something better than they have. They think they can never be worse off and turn in despair of all else to Christianity, hoping to find in it some relief, either for this life or for hereafter."

Of these four men, the first is an editor, the second a pastor, the third a layman, and the fourth a pastor. The others agreed with them. When Joseph Cook was in Japan some years ago, he asked a question somewhat similar to this, of a group of leading Christians and carried away the impression that Christianity's assurance of a future life had drawn many. I reminded them of this and asked whether the certain hope of immortality had not attracted them. "No," said No. One, "Mr. Cook misunderstood us. We were present at that meeting. We were content with this present life and wanted no more."

"But did not the person of Christ appeal to you at all?" I asked. "Yes," they replied, "the beauty of His character appealed to us, especially His unselfishness. We were not affected by His humility, for humility is an artificial thing with us and is discounted accordingly. There are no words in which to express the ideas of Christ's humility or humiliation save terms which have a fixed and ceremonial meaning, not highly esteemed by the sincere."

"How does it come," I inquired, "that in a Buddhist land you turned to Christianity for rest. Buddha's doctrine was the way of rest. Buddhism fails in its essence, if it fails in this. Is there no rest in it?" "Yes," they answered, "but it is the rest of stagnation, tending downwards. Christ's rest is the rest of a living peace, lifting upwards. The priests in the temple, sitting still, and the old women who worship

are at rest, but they have no aspiration. It is stillness without uplift, or strength. Their religion is indolence."

So the men agreed that they had come to Christianity for moral rest. Oddly enough the main sentiment of the women was that they had come for mental assurance and yet the intellectual vigour and clearness of Christianity had influenced the men also far more than their brief answers acknowledged. The women, however, whose first delightful experience of large intelligence had come with the Spirit of Christ, spoke gratefully of it. No. One said: "I was a devout Buddhist and felt that I was saved by Amida, but in some indefinite way. What impressed me most in Christianity was its clear doctrine of atonement and salvation through Christ. When I became a Christian, I had a box bought from a priest for fifty sen, which was to gain for me an entrance into heaven. To open it would let loose an influence which would smite me blind. After my conversion I decided to open this and make a trial. If it did me no harm, then Christianity would be sure. Otherwise it would be only another disappointment. I opened the box and found a long strip of paper. Missions have done much for our land. It is a land that has been lost in idolatry, and it is not yet redeemed." No. Two continued: "Before I was a Christian I used to wonder what mankind was here for. Men came and went, but what for? My parents could not tell. Then my brother became an evangelist and sent me a Bible. When my father died, I went to live with my brother and he taught me. It was a long time until I came to know the power of Christ to save from the power of sin." No. Three: "My greatest pleasure was to go to lectures and theatres. I worshipped the idols I saw, though I knew there were unseen gods.

Then I went to Christian lectures and heard there was only one God. I could not understand this. Then one of the Bible women taught me that we were all descended from Adam and I determined to look around and see whether all was one. Sure enough, I found that all men had two hands, two eyes, etc., and that there was unity everywhere. So I concluded that there was one God. It was only later that I came to know Christ." No. Four: "I was puzzled by seeing just people in distress and evil people exalted. Christianity, with its doctrine of the future life, explained this to me." No. Five: "I was a Buddhist, with no deep knowledge at all, only knowing that salvation is through Buddha, and to be obtained by repeating 'Namu Amida butsu,' whose meaning I do not and did not know, over and over. To cover a coffin with this written on paper would save. My husband became a Christian and I followed him. Christianity showed me the way of salvation, that it was Christ. Amida showed me no way. The deep things I learned later." No. Six: "I was both a Buddhist and a Shintoist, and disliked Christianity intensely when I first heard it. My family were among the retainers of the Takugawa family, the last of the Shoguns. My son became a Christian, and I felt I must cast him off. He wished to go to the theological school in Tokyo and I agreed, but told him that it meant separation. On his way he met an evangelist and told him to come to see me. He did and his conduct and my son's moved me. I noticed other Christians also, and that when they gave up drink they were reformed, while those who promised before the idols soon went back to their drink again. So I listened the more to the evangelist. In our family was a Shinto priest whose conduct compared unfavourably with that of the Christians. Then

I began to realize that the God of the Christians must be a true God. So I read what my son sent to me and came out into Christianity." No. Seven: "From early childhood I had no use for religion. Our ideas of good and evil came from Confucianism. That was good which law did not punish. What the law punished was evil. But all turned on whether the law found you out or not. This seemed to me unjust. Yet my ideas were indefinite. I was a student in the Yamaguchi Normal School. In our magazines were articles on Christianity and in praise of Christian schools. These interested me and one Sunday I went to see the wife of the postmaster, who knew something about Christianity, and asked her what its characteristic features were. She told me, 'Love your enemies.' This startled me, but I learned little more and left school with little interest in life. I learned more from a friend of my father's. Then I ran away from home to escape persecution and a marriage I disliked, but all is right now." No. Eight: "I was an orphan and my Buddhist and Shintoist relations taught me from the beginning that having no parents to provide for me, all my hope was in the gods. So I was made to be devout toward idols from infancy, but there was none of my heart in it. Then my cousin became a Christian and tried to persuade me, but I did not change. I went to a woman's meeting taught by a missionary, where we did fancy work. There I heard of a true God. I had been taught that there were many gods and I could not think there was but one. But one night my cousin and I were going home together and he showed me the stars and their reflection in the water and tried to persuade me that one God must have made all the beauty of the heavens. I felt the truth of this and went on from it to Christ and His salvation. I saw that men's

hearts were evil and needed God's salvation from without rather than Buddha's from within. And this salvation was in the God come down into flesh."

There are deeply suggestive lessons here for those who can read between the lines. But all that such stories mean can be understood only by those who, working among these people, have watched the struggle of soul and mind through which they have passed and know the meaning of each step of the struggle. "Humph!" says the old German forest commissioner profoundly in "In the Rukh," "I work miracles, und dey come off." But the miracles of the jungle and the forest are as nothing compared with the miracles of transformation of character and spirit and being in which the diverse operations of the Spirit of God manifest themselves under the eyes of the missionary. The miracles of the twentieth century stand ever before him as vindication of the miracles of the first.

XXVIII

SHOSABURO AOYAMA, A JAPANESE CHRISTIAN GENTLEMAN

THE rain was falling in torrents as our comfortable little ship, the *Satsuma Maru,* came to anchor off Shimonoseki, in the straits where the Inland Sea of Japan meets the waters of the Eastern, the Yellow, and the Japan Seas in the Korea Strait. A large covered *sampan* came out to meet us, and we clambered over the ship's side in the rain and tumbled in, creeping at once into the covered end of the shoe-shaped boat, out of the wet. Laughing faces peered out from the clean little wooden houses as we jumped ashore, and splashed through the water to an inn. A most sweet and tasteful little inn it was, and the proprietor, an elder in the Christian Church in Shimonoseki, welcomed us most warmly as we took off our shoes and climbed up the tiny stairs to a dainty room. And there we met Aoyama. A very courtly old gentleman he was. In the old feudal days of Japan he had been a warrior retainer of the Lord of Okazaki, and his manners were as gentle and polished as though he had been of knightly birth. Only he was a Japanese, of course, and his ways were Japanese ways.

As the rain beat upon the little inn, and made music against the panes (for it had windows of glass, and not of paper, as in most Japanese houses), and nearly hid from sight the *Satsuma Maru,* as she weighed anchor and went on to Kobe, Aoyama told us how, thirty years before, he had gone to a gun store to debate with some companions, and to prove to them that Western guns were inferior to the old two-handed

swords of Japan, and was worsted in the debate. Convinced, then, of the superiority of Western things, he went on to study Christianity, and, finding Christ and loving Him, had become His servant and soldier, and for nineteen years had been preaching His gospel.

It was a sweet story, and profitable, and as nearly all the history of Japan for fifty years is illustrated in it, I want to tell it here as Aoyama told it to us, sitting beside the haibaichi, or brazier, with the elder, who owned the inn near by, and with the kakemonos on the wall behind him. Afterward he wrote it out, though with hesitation, because he was unworthy, he felt, and needing not to speak of himself, but to seek the mercy of Christ. And this was his story:

I was born January 4, 1843, at Okazaki, a city in the province of Mikawa. My father's name was Mokuemon Yamaji, and my mother's Tayo Yamaji. From generation to generation our family served the feudal lord (of Okazaki), and my father for a long time acted as his deputy. I was the youngest of seven sons. When I was eleven years of age a relative named Aoyama, who had no son of his own, adopted me, and I took his name. According to the custom of that time, I devoted myself diligently, day and night, to the study of literature (Chinese and Japanese), and military art. Being naturally dull, however, my progress was very slow. Every night my mother, while occupied with her household duties, required me to read a primary history, and herself told me about the heroes of ancient and modern Japan, and taught me the duties of a warrior (samurai), and endeavoured to cultivate in me strength of will. Although adopted by the Aoyama family, and often visiting them, I continued to reside with my father and mother until I was sixteen or seventeen years of age.

When Commodore Perry came to Japan I was about ten years of age. His coming awakened the country as from sleep. For more than two hundred

years there had been a period of peace, but now the weapons, which had long laid hidden away in boxes, were brought forth, and there was a revival in the study of military art. There was likewise a revival in letters, and Chinese literature became very popular; but my inclinations were not toward literature, for I wished to serve my lord as a soldier. I became proficient, excelling especially in the use of the spear and in artillery practise. At the age of twenty, however, the new methods of foreign gunnery were introduced, much to my dissatisfaction (for I held to the old), and I remonstrated with my superiors. They, however, explained the shortcomings of our own and the merits of the new, and told me also about the real condition of foreign countries. I was greatly interested, and from that time became a zealous student of foreign gunnery. I also devoted myself to the study of foreign science, and, among other books, *Natural History* and *Elementary Physiology*, written by Mr. Howson, a missionary to China, were of great benefit to me. At the end of these books there was an account given of Jesus Christ, and the wisdom and power of the Creator was described. This I read repeatedly. It was easy to understand about the Creator, but I couldn't understand the least bit about Jesus Christ. At this time the feeling against foreigners was intense, and the principal subject of discussion was the driving of them away, and the closing against them of our harbours; and hence even those who read such books as I did were persecuted. But the current of events was too strong for the conservatives. Civil war was breaking out. I was then twenty-three or twenty-four years old. The ancient weapons of Japan quickly proved inferior to the better foreign weapons, and wonderful changes began to work in everything. At that time I was sent to Kyoto, as a military officer, to arrange for sending forward artillery in the war with Choshu (Yamaguchi). While I was staying there I was promoted to the position of diplomatic officer (in dealing with other feudal lords). I thus had an opportunity to increase my knowledge greatly, for I met many famous

military leaders, and visited the domains of other feudal lords. Heretofore I had spent my whole life in Okazaki, and my knowledge of other parts of Japan was quite limited; but now I came to understand the condition of the country as a whole. At that time the situation changed rapidly, and battles being fought at Kyoto and Fushimi, the shogun was overthrown, and the mikado was restored to power. Meantime I had been cast into prison for opposing the government, and there I remained until the war of the restoration was ended.* While I was staying in prison I pondered deeply over the question as to whether it was possible to harmonize Confucianism with foreign science, so that both could dwell together in the land. But the course of events was so rapid that it seemed that not one old thing was going to be left, and I searched in vain for some foundation principle that might serve as a guide for the mind of the new Japan. I thought that possibly, in the systems of foreign countries, there might be something similar to Confucianism, but I couldn't find anything.

In August, 1867, I was released from prison, but my troubles were not over. I had had much trouble from my childhood; trouble in connection with being adopted into another family; trouble inherited from the new house into which I had entered. Then, when I was cast into prison, my allowance was reduced, and when released I was in great poverty.† In 1868, however, the old officials were all dismissed, and those who, like myself, had been in prison, came into power; so the despised theorists became the high officials. The government in my feudal lord's domain was now exactly to my fancy, and I considered that the time had come when I could put into practice the new knowledge which I had gathered. But much disappointment was

* The feudal lord of Okazaki was a supporter of the shogun, but Aoyama evidently sympathized with the mikado, and hence was cast into prison by his feudal lord, and kept there until the triumph of the mikado's sympathizers compelled the release of all such prisoners.

†Samurai received an annual allowance of so many koku of rice from their feudal lords.

the result for the most part. Just at this time there was published the translation of a book called *Self-Help,* by Smiles. In this book there was written much about missionaries, and the deeds of heroes, which I greatly admired. I read it several times, searching especially for the fundamentally different point of view which evidently distinguished the West from the East. At this time I was commanded to lead back to Okazaki the samurai who were gathered at the residence of my lord in Yeddo. This gave me my first opportunity to visit Yokohama, meet foreigners, and utter freely my inmost feelings. Then it was that I was told that Christianity is the foundation of Western civilization. With that began my desire to study Christianity. The national law, however, still prohibited, under the severest penalties, any such study, and as there were no books, I could not do anything. Nevertheless, I fairly hungered and thirsted with my desire. It happened, then, that one of my friends, who had been to America and Europe, returned. He had with him a Chinese translation of the New Testament, and he showed it to me. Then I told him what I wished to do, and my desire to possess the book, whereupon he gave it to me with pleasure. I was delighted, and read it many times, day and night. But the principle of it was entirely beyond my understanding, and I felt very foolish because I could not understand it, and many times I cast it aside; but always took it up again. As I think of it now it seems like a dream. The cross of Christ was a special stumbling-block to me, and as a soldier I was greatly dissatisfied with the timidity of the disciples. I continued to read the book over and over again for four years, and gained no light. I wanted to read the Old Testament also, but could not get one.

In 1871 the Daimyates were abolished, and the present system of Prefectures was established.* Most of my friends got government positions, and went away, and it was necessary for me to find something to do, so I decided to go to Tokyo with my family. It was now the summer of 1874. It was at this time

*This deprived most of the samurai of their support.

that I tried to pray to God secretly. I read books on the evidences of Christianity, and the like, and I began to venerate God. My main purpose in going to Tokyo was to obtain a chance of studying the Bible, and, as I already had three children, to give them an opportunity of being educated in the new knowledge, and to bring my whole family under the influence of the new religion. When I first came to Tokyo I was introduced to Dr. Thompson * by the same friend who first gave me the New Testament. I told to him my hopes, and expressed the desire to become his pupil. He treated me with great kindness. After that, every day, in company with four or five friends, I studied the Old Testament at his house. On Sunday I went to church with my family, and studied the Gospels of Luke and John with Dr. Verbeck. I felt I was beginning to understand their meaning, which is that Christ, with a nature that is both human and divine, is our great Saviour. I soon asked to be baptized, and was baptized by Dr. Thompson. My old friend sought to persuade me to get employment with the government, but Dr. Thompson told me it would be a difficult thing for me to keep the Sabbath holy, and, if possible, it would be better to seek some other livelihood. As my allowance as a samurai was still coming to me as before, I was able to get on without trouble. I taught Japanese to Miss Schoolmaker, and afterwards to Dr. Imbrie and Miss Youngman. While doing this I studied the Bible, and began to tell others about the way to believe in Christ. In 1876 the theological school was established, and I studied there for over two years, greatly to my benefit. I was shamefully slow in my spiritual development; I found it hard to believe in miracles; I thought that God was not above the reason, and, indeed, that God and reason were almost the same thing. But I did not wholly reject miracles—I looked upon them as historical events, and waited for clear evidence that would allow me to believe wholly. But in the unknown time the Holy Spirit was sent. I had

* The Rev. David Thompson, D.D., of the Presbyterian Mission, who went to Japan in 1863.

a great struggle, too, with my old habits. We began family prayers. The children grew in knowledge. My own weakness, and the power of old habits, were revealed to me continuously, night and day; nor had I any power to overcome them—any power of my own. I was in great distress, and could only exclaim, "O, wretched man that I am!" As I look back to that period I feel it to have been the period of my greatest suffering. Though I believed in Christ, I did not receive His full light, I saw the dim light in the far distance; though I was reformed, I sometimes felt hypocritical, yet I believed that God would surely help me.

For five years after I was baptized I preached the gospel within and without the city of Tokyo. In the spring of 1878 I was told that Shimonoseki was to be made an open port. It was, therefore, my desire to begin to preach the gospel in that place, and with my friend, Mr. S. Hattori, I pledged myself to that work, and in April of that year we proceeded to that place. As soon as we began to preach there arose a bitter persecution, and we had no place in which even to stay. But in the midst of the persecution, and in a short time, many became Christians; and at various places around there were inquirers, so that, on Christmas, 1879, we were able to organize a church. Mr. Hattori then went to Yamaguchi, and Mr. Nakashima coming to the field, the gospel was preached in Hiroshima, Yanagawa, and Kokura. As I had been ordained before leaving Tokyo, I went about from place to place baptizing the converts. In the spring of 1881 there was a revival in Tokyo and Yokohama, and some Christians coming from there, we held meetings night and day. I also received the blessing of the Holy Spirit, and from that time I was full of gratitude.

In the spring of 1883 my wife, who had been bedridden for five years, died, leaving six children, so that both within and without my household I was made to suffer; but the Lord made it all work out for my spiritual good; and led me in the true way. Afterward I became the pastor of the Yamaguchi church,

and at that time there was an attack of the new theology, and it seemed as though the churches in this region, and myself as well, would be overwhelmed; but we withstood it, and made firm the foundations. It was a great benefit to my faith, but there were many among the Christians who never recovered.

I have spent nineteen years working in this region —eleven years at Shimonoseki and at Chofu, three years at Yamaguchi, one year at Yanagawa (Kyushu), and four years in Usuki (Kyushu). During that time I have enjoyed the sympathy of Dr. Alexander,* and he has done many favours to my family. I have had twelve children—by my first wife, seven, and by my second, five. By the grace of God ten are still living. The eldest son was graduated at McCormick Theological Seminary, and is devoting his life to the gospel ministry. I rejoice in this. Dr. Alexander was a great help to him. I rejoice, too, in the fact that my eldest daughter is the wife of a pastor.

As I look back over my life I feel that I was chosen by the will of God, redeemed and consecrated by the precious blood of the Lord, and was made a servant and preacher of the Word. My joy in serving the Lord without fear is changed into overflowing gratitude. I am not looking back; but, keeping my eyes in front, I press toward the goal.

It is plain that wonderful changes have taken place in Japan since the introduction of Christianity, but the changes are so various, and the causes so mixed, that it is hard to say that Christianity is the sole cause. Nevertheless, that it was a most important cause, all must admit. Of course, for the most part, Eastern customs are sprung from Confucianism and Buddhism; such, for example, as the honouring of men and despising of women, and the division of society into ranks. But evil customs in Japan are being gradually rooted out. If it is asked why Japanese break with old customs so readily, the answer is, that they realize that this must be done if Japan wishes to rival

* The Rev. T. T. Alexander, D.D., of the Presbyterian Mission.

civilized countries of the West. Feudal government has been abolished, and constitutional government established in its place with good effect. In the homes of the people the rank of women and the relations of man and woman are improving. It is impossible that educated women should be treated with contempt. There are two things, however, which are not yet established—first, the destruction of the customs characteristic of people of high rank; and second, higher education among the women generally. But it is clear that these will gradually improve. Thus the people are coming to look upon these various changes as evidence that Confucianism and Buddhism are losing their power. The new wine will not be put into the old bottles. The old house has to be broken up in order to build a new one. If we wish to associate with foreign peoples on terms of equality, our customs must be made to conform to theirs. Now, if the many changes be examined carefully, and traced to their source, it will be seen that they all sprang from ideas revealed in the Bible. So the people in our country must come to Christianity in the end. Many among the learned men, the statesmen, and the business men, often confess this. These people, however, are in no haste or anxiety for their own salvation; they favour their wives and children becoming Christians, and the country as a whole becoming Christian. Thus Christianity has been preached among the Gentiles, and they believed. One is surprised, therefore, at the smallness of the Church; but there are reasons, both within and without, for this state. Within the Church they still depend too much on the reason and knowledge of men, and not on the power of God; and the poison of the new theology is still at work. There are other causes, which I will not mention, but I believe in the final victory of the cross. I pray especially for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the churches of this land.

Please pardon the confusion of ideas, and the brevity of this sketch of my life.

SHOSABURO AOYAMA.

Let us join good Aoyama in his prayer. When, later in the day, we said good-by to him, as we went aboard a tiny coasting ship for Mitajiri, it was with that sense of enrichment and satisfaction which comes from having met a good and gentle man. It is a good thing to have part in a work which produces such results.

XXIX

FOUR LIFE STORIES

THE Church of Christ which is growing up in Persia is composed of diverse elements. Mohammedans, Nestorians, Armenians, and Jews make up the population of the country and the membership of the Church. But in the state the seven and one-half millions of the Mohammedans dominate severely the twenty-five thousand Nestorians, the forty-five thousand Armenians, and the twenty thousand Jews, who made up the non-Moslem population until the massacres in Turkey drove down tens of thousands of both Armenian and Nestorian refugees to increase these numbers, and find shelter under the more tolerant government of the Shiah Kajars. In the Church, naturally, the predominant element still is from the Gregorian and Nestorian Churches, which have maintained the Christian name, and the forms, at least, of a Christian faith, under twelve centuries of Moslem oppression. Each of these four peoples, however, has its first fruits in the little Church of which at least as much can be said as was written to the church in Philadelphia: "Thou hast a little power, and didst keep my word, and didst not deny my name."

Desirous of seeing how men of these different races came into the society of Christ, when in Persia I asked four representative types to tell their stories. The first was a converted Moslem gentleman in Tabriz, attached to the suite of a prominent nobleman, who, though a Mohammedan, protected his Christian friend from persecution. He had left Islam for Sufism, but its petty laws brought yet greater unease and burden upon him.

He was taught, for example, that, if a man carried an ant on his person from one section of the city to another, he should take it back, and deposit it where he found it. From Sufism he turned to Babism, but the Bab, he said, had been a dissolute and drunken young man, and wrote ungrammatically. He could not believe that the Bab was God.

After that, this was his story: "A statement of the way I found the mercy of the Lord Jesus, and escaped from the bonds of the law, and from the heavy load which I have borne. For a long time I gave myself to eating, sleeping, and frivolity, and had no portion in the spiritual life. Little by little I came to this thought that, of necessity, from the beginning of creation to the last day, there must be a person pure and holy, without sin, and full of kindness, a Mediator between the Creator and his creatures, to free all the creatures from sin and uncleanness. With this thought, I began to read the books of the teachers of my native city. I could not find the Mediator. On a certain day it happened that I was at the house of a friend, and saw a copy of the Old Testament. I read in it, and found wonderful and heart-pleasing things. I borrowed the book, asking whence it had come. My friend said that about forty-five years ago an Englishman had translated it. I took it home, and read it continuously, and sought also the New Testament. My heart was drawn to the words of these books, and I obtained some comfort, but not to my heart's desire. And I cried and prayed, 'O God, lead me to the road which is straight, and in which Thy pleasure is.'

"Then, on a certain night, I dreamed that I was in a ruined city, where there was no living thing, and it was unutterably dark. I was afraid, and speechless. Wherever I turned I sank to my waist in mire.

I saw myself near to destruction, and began to weep. I continued to say, 'O God, by Thine own dear honour free me from this.' Then I heard a voice from heaven, the speaker being invisible, which said: 'If thou wouldst be delivered from this city of destruction, thou must believe on Jesus, else thou must stay here till the judgment day.' Thrice I heard this voice in the same way. Then I said, 'I believe on the Lord Jesus, O God.' The voice replied, 'Art thou firm in thy confession?' And I answered 'Yes.' Immediately that city of destruction became as heaven, and now I am unable to describe its beauty. After that, I awoke from my sleep, and said I must see the teachers of these books. I saw my remedy in this. There were a few people from America in Tabriz, and I sought them, and they became my leaders in the road which I travel. After many temptations, I received baptism, and by the mercy of the great One, I have remained near Him until this day, being of the number of the followers of the Lord Jesus, who said, 'Him that cometh to Me, I will in no wise cast out.' I hope to my last breath to remain in the love of the Lord Jesus, and to be of firm step in the day of judgment before the Father and the Son, and that I shall not have a black face (be ashamed), and be cast out of heaven. During life I praise the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

This was the Armenian's story. He knew English in his way, and I preserve his own words: "When I was a little boy of nine years, I went to the mission school in our village of Ichmeh, about six miles from Harput. The teacher was a man of lovely life, and his example greatly influenced me. After I met him, I had the feeling that I was going to be a preacher, and devoted to Christ's work. At the close of school, we would sing and pray before going home. Once we

sang ' I want to be an angel,' and when we came to the verse, ' I am a sinful boy, but the Lord will forgive,' I felt something I had not felt before, and the tears began to flow from my eyes, and I began to have a different life. Then the children mocked me, but I felt sure strength to be strong during all the time. I did not join the church. I was careful about it, thinking I must be perfect first. When I was eleven I used to read in the winter to my father and uncles. When I read the stories of Joseph and Samuel and David, they would ask questions and object.

" While they were making questions, my father began to come to meetings. My mother was friendly with the teacher, and this helped me. So, soon, my father wanted to join the church, and my brother was ordained deacon, while my father undertook financial responsibility for accounts of church and school. In these troublous days I am remembering that it was very pleasant every morning and evening to gather our large family together for family prayers. Brothers and uncle would conduct them, but we all took part.

" My father built a new church,—not a fine one, but simple and good. He was a well-known man, and the Bishop wrote to him to drop his evangelical religion, that it was a shame to him. ' Come and see,' he replied: ' you will find you are mistaken.' He gave his tithes, and decided he should give two tithes of his children. So I became teacher, and then I worked for young men in Harput plain, and became a preacher. I have tried to do something good. The Moslems troubled us. They would not pay my father their debts, but he did what he could even as an old man. I have come as preacher to the Armenians in Persia. They do not hear as the people at home did. I love to work for them and for my Master.

"It is a very good remembrance when I think of my father and my brother, both together. Always they were working in the same line. When the last disturbances began, the first attack was made on our village. When they attacked, they cried, 'Tell the Moslem creed!' The first martyr was my father. After six days they gathered the people in the church, and then brought them out and killed them like little sheep, one by one, as they rejected Mohammed, and did cleave to Christ. The martyrs were thirty-two. The first who came out was the pastor. The good shepherd did go before the sheep. When they brought out my eldest brother, he had some discussion with the sheikh. But then they wounded him, and he fell down. Then he held up his head, and said, 'My name was Mardiros, but now I am dying really a martyr. O Jesus, accept my soul!'" But of what avail to tell again the story of the slain,

"Whose souls are with the saints, I trust"?

The quiet, peaceful voice broke here, and I beheld another of the blessings given to those who know "the fellowship of His sufferings."

The third story was the tale of a Jew which he wrote out in Persian. This is the translation of it: "Blessed be God, the Lord of the children of Israel, who looks upon His covenant with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and sent our Lord Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of the nations, that whosoever shall trust in His salvation may have life, especially according to His covenant with Israel. He will leave a remnant which shall believe on Him, and become the inheritors of the promises, although they were but dry bones. He has not forgotten them. Among such, your servant, who in his youth heard the teachings of his parents and teachers to the

intent that Jesus of Nazareth is not the promised Saviour, and that his miracles, such as healing the blind and raising the dead, were not from him, but from His Name, which dwelt in the temple, as is taught this day among the Jews. I also was bitten by the old Serpent, and walked according to their belief that the mention of the name of Jesus was sin, that even acquaintance with Christians was transgression, and that it was a work of merit to burn or otherwise to destroy every book relating to Christians. This was until I was able to read Hebrew commentaries and books, and to understand.

"Once I found among the books of my mother's father, who was a mollah, some copies of the Gospel of Luke and the Epistle to the Romans, which had been presented to him. I found some tracts also. I took all these home, and read them. Day by day I saw that the faith of Christ was different from what I had thought it to be. I saw that the teaching of the New Testament was in accord with the covenant with the fathers, and that Jesus was the Christ in whom there was hope and salvation. I became sorry that many had been out of the way and asleep. My parents and friends became anxious about me, and began to oppose me, and to oppress. They gave me Jewish books, and said: 'If you read these Christian books further, you shall be put in the government prison, and your inheritance will be taken away.' All this was as a fable to me. The inheritance was as nothing to the love of Christ. Then they wrote a paper disinheriting me, and my father gave his fortune, which was large, to my brothers, and they drove me out from my father's house. The mollah and teachers of the city began to talk with me, to dissuade me. I praise God that, with the help of Christ, I was able to answer them.

Then they showed enmity, and the mollahs and mujtahids complained to the governor, and I was bound and chained several times, and the government took much money from me. Once the brother of the Shah wanted to cut off my ears. I praise the Lord that till now the grace of our Saviour has delivered me from all these dangers, and that my knowledge of his salvation has increased. May he show his power in the peace of Christ unto the tribes of Israel!"

With the fourth life story I became acquainted in the city of Kermanshah. A young man and his mother were at work there for God. Beside them there were two other Christians in the city. One was a pale-faced young Chaldean priest sent out by the Roman Catholic missionaries in Mosul, and he was just leaving the place, shaking off the dust of his feet against its iniquity. The other was a young Moslem convert, not strong enough for much boldness of open confession. But the young man and his mother were not retreating, and they were not afraid. For Christ's sake they had left their homes in Urumia, and come as missionaries to the Jews and Moslems of Kermanshah. The visits of Christians were very few, and they received us as they would have received our Master. The old mother was in transports of delight, and would rise to go out now and then to weep with joy. Her son knew Persian, Turkish, Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew, Kurdish, and some English, and he wrote out this story, which I have not changed even as to the spelling. I asked him for his own experience, but he sank it in his mother's.

THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE OF MY MOTHER

I. Her age.

Now she is an old woman of sixty years in age. So feeble and weary that she waits every day to reach

on her Everlasting Rest. She is pleased to labour for her Lord in a strange country in her old days.

II. Her life with her Husband.

She lived with her husband forty years. But he was a drinkin man. At once he went to other Country he did not came back to his own country till twelve years. But in this time my mother was in a poor condition. But in pure spiritual life. And when he came back to his home he was a drinkin man till twinty six years. Then my mother was in a great trouble to see him a drinkin man every day And to receive many drinkin guests every day. Now she was asking God to bring her some blessed days in which she would have many spiritual guests (Preachers) to minister them. Now I see that God had heard her request.

At last she lived with her husband in Christian life only two years. It was blessed years but alass very short. In those two last years my father was a true Christian man indeed. he did not drink wine at all.

III. Her Repentence.

Till thirty years she was a Nestorian woman. But after that she received the Lord Jesus Christ in her heart by hearing preaching of Postur Yohhanan Doomon. about the story of Lazar, Mary and Marta. From that time she began to pray, to give her heart to her Lord and to try to work for him as much as it was pussible for her.

IV. Her desire to see me a preacher.

When I was a little boy only seven years old my mother prayed and asked God to make me a preacher to work in his Ministry: Then she sent me to school though she had no money to spend. Because my father was a drunkin man and very poor. Then she worked hard and bought the books which I was need. Now my father was in Rusia till I became twelve years old. When he came back to his home he tried

to let me not go to school. But he could not Because we could not obey on him. Then he tried to send me to the school of English-men. But that too it was very impossible for him. Then he let me free to go to my school. When I became (20) twenty years old I was fineshed the Thialigy Course in Orumiah Collage. Now I am working with my old mother in the blessed ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, In the city of Kermanshah. My mother is so much pleased to see me preaching as she asked God fifteen years ago. She has many labours indeed for Jesus sake in that strange Country in her old age and last days.

V. Our journey on to Kermanshah.

One day I asked her, "Mother are you ready to go to another place and work to God?" "Yes dear son I am ready to go every where that God calls me." Then I told her "Mother we must go on to Kermanshah." "Yes I am glad to go and work in the Blessed Ministry."

In that day which we were all ready to go on to our journey, We received a letter from my brother which was in Badkuba stranger for twinty years. He was writhin that I will meet you in Orumiah after one month. Now my mother had a great trouble, She did not knew what to do? To come with me onto Kermanshah? Or to stay in home to see her dear son, which she had saw him not for twinty years? After some prayers, She said I will go onto Kermanshah, for Jesus sake.

For all days which we were traviling My old mother was praying, and asking God to proteckt and save us from all kinds of dangers.

God heard her and saved us.

We traveled two days through largest, and highest mountains when we did reach to a little village in a vally My mother said "dear son now we have gone out to another world." Then we laughed a little and answered her that when we are traveling onto Heaven we must pass through many highest Mountains.

Now we are in Kermanshah.

My mother speakes with Kaldanian Jews and Muslim women. And they are pleased to hear from her the Word of God.

I hope all brotheren and sisteren will remember us in their prayers.

There is something idyllic in this last story, as there is the fragrance of the early days of Christianity about all of them. But they are gracious tales of lives that are sincere, and that seek to be true in conduct to the obedience of the Saviour whom they have found. The Moslem found him through the Scriptures and a dream; the Armenian, through a godly life and a song; the Jew, through the Bible; and the Nestorian woman through a spoken message, and her son through his mother. To meet such Christians is to have all doubt removed as to real conversions taking place on mission fields, and as to the depth and sincerity of the spiritual experiences of such Christians. They would be the last to think that they had apprehended or were already perfect. Their eyes are on a country that is afar off and beyond all present experience. Each Sunday evening until her recent death the old Nestorian woman in Kermanshah took her son up to the roof of their humble home, and said, "Now, Mooshe, where is Urumia?" And the son pointed off to the Northward, beyond the snow-clad hills of Kurdistan, and, turning her eyes thither toward home, the old woman would sit down and weep, in no desire to return, but in expectation of that better country, even a heavenly.

XXX

PASTOR TSIANG'S STORY

HANG-CHOW is a great Chinese city Southwest of Shanghai. The Chinese think that it is a beautiful city to live in. "Below is Hang-chow," some of them say, "above is heaven." We would not think it very beautiful, with its narrow streets, its temples and idols, its crowded markets and dirty canals. But it is very picturesque. A temple on a hill in the city overlooks the quaint, tiled roofs with upturned eaves. Little shrines confront one as he comes to a wall ahead which turns the street sharply to left or right. This is to confuse the evil spirits, which travel in straight lines only and will run against the wall when they fly down the street. Here and there, perhaps, a group of yellow-robed Buddhist priests are kneeling in a shop, saying prayers for the dead, repeating Buddha's name over and over again; or a few old women are doing the same, placing their fingers on spots on long, yellow slips of paper for each mention of the sacred name.

Yet it is not wholly a heathen city. Yonder is the college of the American Presbyterian Mission, and just beyond is the hospital of the Church Missionary Society and in another part of the city is the girls' school of the Southern Presbyterians. There are many good Chinese Christians here, and none of them have been more useful or more beloved than good old pastor Tsiang, who has just resigned his pastorate after many years of eager, active service. When in Hang-chow, I was so impressed with the genuine, earnest spirit of the old man, that I asked him to write his life story for

me. He did this, modestly calling himself "a younger brother in the Church." Mr. Garritt of Hang-chow translated his paper.

A younger brother in the Church, Tsiang Nying-Kwe, of Hang-chow, China, desires to give a brief account of how God and our Lord Jesus Christ, from the first till now, has saved him and given him great favour.

My home was originally at Ning-po; my ancestors,* from my great-grandfather to my father were, for the most part scholars and Confucianists. Although Confucianists, they still believed in the divinities of Buddhism and Taoism and worshipped these idols. From my childhood I followed my parents in the worship of idols, believing that the idols in the temples were divinities, which should be reverenced. I did not know that there was one true God in heaven above, or the Lord who saves us.

When over ten years old, I entered a school in our neighbourhood, reading the Four Books and Five Classics. Though studying these books, I still did not know the how or why of living. When fifteen years old, because of poor crops and straitened circumstances, I had to stop school and look out for the opportunity of learning a trade. But while waiting for a favourable opportunity to present itself, my second older brother, who was already in the printing office—now called the Presbyterian Mission Press—came home and told me that foreigners had a school on the North Bank, Ning-po, in which the method of study was very excellent and the teachers were very learned. He said that the books studied were the Chinese Four Books and Five Classics, and religious (*i. e.*, Christian) books. As soon as I heard of this, I asked him to find some one to recommend me.

So I entered the mission school, in January, 1854. At that time my only thought was to learn a little of our literature, in hope of getting a name (*i. e.*, a degree); although I was diligent in study, I gave no heed to religious matters. If others exhorted me, I did not heed it in the least degree. I remember once a

* The Chinese phrase includes uncles and granduncles.

Mr. Zi called me into his room and exhorted me to believe, asking me if I did believe. I answered in the common saying: "To those who believe, he exists (or, the gods exist); to those who do not believe, he does not exist." At that time my heart was still dark and in nowise different from what it had been at home.

After a couple of years God's grace came upon me, so that I gradually came to understand; it was within my heart, as when the light dawns in the East. Finally, when I understood more clearly, I made the decision to trust in God and be the disciple of Jesus. Just when I was about to believe, my brother also received grace through the Holy Spirit to believe the truth. When my mother heard that both of us were believing, she was greatly incensed, considering that we had taken up with heretical belief and cast away our ancestors. So she wept and wailed night and day, and resisted us with all her might. Besides, there were our other relations, greater and lesser uncles, cousins, and our neighbours, who used their best endeavour to oppose our believing. By the help of God, we two brothers were unchanged in our purpose.

We had a cousin, who, seeing us so firm, was astonished, and asked us to tell him what this doctrine really was and what good one received through believing it. So we explained to him minutely, and he was greatly pleased, as he heard, and was desirous of going with us on the heavenly road, just like Pliable, in Pilgrim's Progress. For several months he accompanied us in prayer and observance of Sabbath worship. Afterwards his parents came and quarrelled with my mother, because he had believed, saying that we brothers had led him astray. Finally, our mother, worried beyond endurance by them, commanded that we should be satisfied with believing ourselves, but should not exhort our cousin to believe. After some months our cousin, being unable to withstand the persecution, gradually turned back. This was most sad.

The church, hearing of our difficulties, encouraged and comforted us. The eighth month of that year the Rev. Mr. Rankin baptized my brother, and in the tenth month he baptized me. From that time, although my

mother was displeased at our entering the church, yet, as our cousin had fallen away, and his parents no longer troubled her, our mother let the matter rest, and did not trouble us. This was God's merciful purpose of lightening our persecution and enabling us to obtain saving grace.

I studied in this school, altogether, eight years, finishing my course when nineteen years old. After this, I first went out to preach, and afterwards taught school for three years. When I was twenty-three years old, Dr. Nevius wrote for me to go to Shan-tung to help him in missionary work. I remained there a year and a half, and then returned to Ning-po. Having married, the second year I itinerated about Yu-yiao, Zong-yu and Shao-hing. The end of my twenty-fifth year I came with the Rev. Mr. Green to Hang-chow and rented a house. The next year I brought my family to Hang-chow. From that time to this, thirty-four years, I have lived in Hang-chow. At the first, on this side the Dzao-ngo River, and including Hang-chow, there was not a single Christian, excepting myself (and family) and a native preacher, Mr. Chang, connected with the church mission in Hang-chow. Since then, by God's favour, the doors of entrance have gradually opened, several churches have been organized, and the various denominations also have foreign missionaries living in Hang-chow. Christians have grown in numbers every year, until at present, in the strip from Dzao-ngo River north to Hu-chow there are fully a thousand baptized converts, of whom some three hundred belong to the Presbyterian Church. This, God and our Lord Jesus Christ has done by His own power; it is not the work of us men.

When I was twenty-four years old, Presbytery licensed me, and the year I was twenty-seven I was ordained as an evangelist, having oversight of Hang-chow church. The next year Hang-chow and Sin-z churches called me as pastor. After some years Sin-z became independent of Hang-chow, and I had sole care of the latter church. Through all these years, thanks be to God for His favour, my work has been almost wholly peaceful. Though there have been some times

when preaching was attended with danger and persecution, the Lord always delivered me. The most dangerous time was that when Mr. Dodd and I met with trouble at Kia-hing. Some ten thousand people gathered together, purposing to kill us. Though my head was injured and blood flowed, yet the Lord saved me from the tiger's mouth. At present the Southern Presbyterian Mission has entered Kia-hing, and can proclaim the gospel there. This is to me a source of great pleasure and comforts me greatly.

When I think how worthless a servant of Christ I am, without talents or virtues, I feel I can of myself accomplish no good work. I constantly realize that I am an indolent servant; in all things God has added His exceeding grace and helped me. Therefore, I wish to praise and thank the Lord for His great mercy. Sad to say I am growing old, my body is not strong, my eyes are poor, so that I cannot now work so hard in the Lord's service. In this respect I have some sorrow.

I now have two sons and a daughter, all of whom are Jesus's disciples. The oldest is in the C. M. S. Hospital, a Western physician, and helping the Church Mission. The second is a licentiate in our own Church, preaching at Soochow and helping in a school. The youngest, a daughter, is still at home, helping her mother and giving some time to study. God's grace to me is full and overflowing, truly beyond my power to thank Him fully. I only pray that God will give me a few years on earth, if there may yet be a little work for me to do for Him; and that the Lord Jesus would give to my whole family and to the whole Church in Hang-chow, the Spirit's gifts, that all may by holy living, holy courage, holy service, and holy love, glorify the name of God, and that by God's grace we may save our own souls and those of our fellow-men. May glory be to God through endless ages. Amen.

TSIANG NYING-KWE.

I spoke to Pastor Tsiang's church, one Sunday morning, on the four things he mentions at the close of his story—holy living, holy courage, holy service, and holy love—and he nodded assent to what touched his

heart. It could be wished that we were as eager to glorify the name of God by these things as this dear old Chinese preacher has been and has desired others to be. Perhaps his simple story may make some of us willing to serve Christ with whole hearts, as he has served Him. It will, at any rate, enable us to see how the gospel takes hold of a Chinese mind and how sincere and intelligent a Chinese Christian's faith may be. The work that produces such results is real.

XXXI

A CHINESE PREACHER

THERE was in the gatherings of native Christians, at Ningpo, a bright-faced little man, with a strong, mobile mouth, with whom I was impressed when I visited that city. When a puzzling question was asked, he would be the first one to grasp it, and his bright little eyes would twinkle and his lips twitch with delight. Yiang was his name. There had been a time when the missionaries feared that perhaps his Christianity was just an intellectual thing, but his heart had grown warmer and warmer, and Jesus had become very real and very dear to him.

I was so much pleased with his character, his frank, canny ways, that I asked him to write out for me the story of his experience. He hesitated to do so at first, saying that it was too great an honour to be asked to tell his life story; but at last he consented and wrote it out in the Ningpo dialect of Chinese, and Miss Cunningham, of Ningpo, translated it for me, as follows:

Mr. Speer has requested me to write an account of my conversion, spiritual growth, and the progress of the gospel now as compared with former days. My ability and virtues are very limited, and I have nothing to tell others, but as I have no excuse to offer, I will speak briefly of these three things:

1. My native village is forty li (thirteen miles) distant from the city of Ningpo. My parents were not Christians. When I was twelve years of age I was attending a native school. Just at this time six playmates of mine, from the same village, who were attending the mission school in Ningpo, returned for their vacation, and spoke in high terms of the supe-

riority of the school. I reported this to my parents, and when I was thirteen they sent me to the school, although they were still unbelievers. Two other boys came with me and applied for admission at the same time. Dr. S. N. D. Martin was then in charge of the school, and he had a rule that only those who already had a knowledge of character (Chinese letters) would be received. The other two boys failed to pass the entrance examination and were rejected. I remained in the school for several years. Dr. Martin was constantly exhorting me to become a Christian. I was still young, and had always been under heathen influences; moreover, the non-Christians in the school ridiculed the believers, so I was irregular in my praying, not at all well behaved, and grew cold and indifferent.

At the age of seventeen I had an attack of typhoid fever, and at that time decided to accept Christ as my Saviour. At eighteen I had a still more severe attack of typhoid, and my life was despaired of; although I had not received baptism I was not afraid to die, because I was trusting in Jesus for salvation. However, the Lord was gracious and restored my health, and I was then baptized by Doctor Nevius; but during this period I was not zealous; on the other hand, very lukewarm.

2. In regard to my Christian life, at this time there was nothing of which to boast. From the age of twenty-one to twenty-six I taught a day school. My heart was filled with worldly ambitions. I had not decided to take up the Lord's cross and bear it for Him, and become a preacher. But when I was twenty-six my elder brother died, and this brought home to me the truth of the vanity of worldly glory and riches, and I then made up my mind to be a witness-bearer for the Lord. At twenty-seven years of age I became a theological student and was conscious of increasing faith and courage and growth in earnestness in serving the Lord. At thirty years of age I became a licentiate, and at thirty-one was ordained at Tsincong, as pastor of the church there.

My belief in Christ, becoming a labourer for him,

and growth in grace, have all come through discipline, exactly in accordance with the teachings of Scripture. "Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth." These have been the turning points in my life, and I cannot but praise the Lord for his great mercies.

3. A comparison between the preaching of the gospel forty years ago and now.

(1) Places. Forty years ago preaching could be done only in Ningpo, Shanghai, and the other open ports, with their immediate suburbs. It was quite impossible to preach in Hang-chow or the interior.

(2) Men's hearts. (a) Formerly, when one joined the church, he was expelled from the clan; now there is no difference made. (b) Formerly, none but the poor joined the church; now literary men of high degree as well as the wealthy are joining. (c) Formerly there were many evil reports circulated, such as gouging out the eyes, hearts, and livers, and wrapping the bodies of the dead in white cloth; now we hear much less of such talk. When such questions are asked it is not necessary for us to answer ourselves, as the bystanders will promptly deny the truth of all these rumours. (d) Formerly the Chinese people did not know that the Jesus doctrine was a good doctrine; all thought it was a false religion. Now it is known far and wide, even by those who have not accepted it, to be a thoroughly good doctrine; though difficult to obey. (e) Those who worship idols and count beads, repeating a meaningless formula of words for merit, formerly very much disliked to see the preachers of the true religion; now very many hide their beads when they see us coming and deny having been in the temples worshipping; plainly showing that the light of the gospel is shed abroad, and that their consciences reprove them; but because of the difficulty of breaking off old customs and keeping the Sabbath, they are ashamed to become Christians. But the seed of the truth has been planted.

(3) From the standpoint of the rich and honourable. (a) Formerly the *literati* and officials were unwilling to pronounce our doctrine good, and saw no difference between the Protestant and Catholic

Churches. Now officials have testified in the daily papers that the Protestant Church is good, and very different from the Catholic. (b) Formerly the officials were unwilling to have intercourse with the missionaries, and it was very difficult to reach them. Now, in Peking, the missionaries have access to many high officials, such as members of the royal family, the prime minister, and so on, and they understand the teachings of Christ. (c) Formerly it was not realized that Western sciences were useful or valuable; but since the war with Japan all this has been changed, and now schools are being opened everywhere for the pursuance of these studies, and even the officials themselves are willing to become pupils, and even attend divine service.

(4) From the standpoint of what the Church has done. (a) Formerly, in the mission schools, the scholars were given their food and clothing free; no well-to-do people sent their children. Now some pay both their board and tuition. (b) Fifty years ago there were very few Christians within the bounds of the presbytery; now there are over one thousand and in the whole of China over ten thousand.* In another fifty years there ought to be tens of thousands added within the bounds of the presbytery; and in the whole of China, with its four hundred million people, at least one-fifth should be converted to Christianity. (c) Formerly there was no such thing as a home missionary society; the contributions of the whole Church were but a few tens of dollars. Now we have a native home missionary society, which has sent out two ordained missionaries, and the contributions for this society from all the churches amount to over one thousand dollars. (d) Formerly the pupils in the schools and patients in the hospitals were very unwilling to accept Christianity; hence the preachers were scarce; there was not one out of a hundred of the hospital patients who accepted Christ. Now nearly all the pupils in the schools become Christians and are willing to work for their Saviour, and very many

*The total number of Protestant Christians in China is probably over 100,000.

hospital patients are converted. From the C. M. S. Hospital, Ningpo, Christianity has spread to Taichow-fu. From the same society's hospital in Hang-chow it has reached Ts-kyi and all up that river. These are the very apparent results.

At the present time we observe two things in regard to the preaching of the gospel in China.

1. Things are gradually changing and we hope will continue to change until all come under the influence of Christianity. So it is very important that the foreign missionaries quickly sow the good seed in China, lest there should be evil men come from the Western countries and sow bad seed, thus greatly injuring the Church.

2. All things are now made ready; what we lack is the Holy Spirit. When the Holy Spirit comes upon us, customs, men's hearts, and all these things will be greatly altered. As, for example, a boat fully equipped and manned needs only the favourable wind to start it. The Holy Spirit is the wind. We need only pray for the outpouring of the Spirit, and all will be well. We trust that when Mr. Speer returns to his native country, he will pray for the four hundred millions in China, that the news of salvation in Christ may be rapidly spread abroad.

I send greetings to all the members of the Board, and all the brethren and sisters of the Church, and wish to thank them for the care they have had over our Chinese Church.

YIANG LING-TSIAO.

There are many native Christians like Mr. Yiang—clear-headed, thoughtful, well-informed. Indeed, the Christians are the best-informed men and women in China now, and one of their hardest trials is to see their country going steadily to pieces, and be loyal to it, while at the same time they know perfectly well what is the matter with it, and have in their Christian faith that which would save it, if only China would be wise and accept it. Any who think that the mis-

sion converts are ignorant Christians, professing to believe for the sake of loaves and fishes, would be greatly surprised if they should fall into a discussion with a man like Mr. Yiang.

XXXII

TWO KOREAN CHRISTIANS

ONE of the chapters of Dr. Griffis's book on Korea is entitled "The Issachar of Asia." It is an apt characterization of the patient people who, like a strong ass bending between burdens (Gen. xlix. 14), have been alternately invaded and harassed by the stronger nations on either side. And the altered language of the Revised Version, with its emphasis on Issachar's disinclination to service, many would maintain, fits the Koreans even better than the language of the King James Version:

"Issachar is a strong ass,
Couching down between the sheepfolds:
And he saw a resting place that it was good,
And the land that it was pleasant;
And he bowed his shoulder to bear,
And became a servant under taskwork."

Subservient to others, secluded from the West, curious in his ways, the Korean has been held in low esteem. The general view of him and his country which the captain of the United States man-of-war *Palos*, weary of his long station off the mud-flats at Chemulpo, wrote, years ago, in "The Far-away Land of Chosen," has prevailed until to-day:

"There's a singular country far over the seas,
Which is known to the world as Korea,
Where there's nothing to charm and nothing to please,
And of cleanliness not an idea,

Where a lucid description of persons and things
Quite baffles the readiest pen,
And stirs up strange qualms in the poet who sings
Of that far-away land of Chosen."

But though weak, base, and despised, God has been at work among the Koreans,—the same God who from the beginning hath chosen "the weak things of the world that He might put to shame the things that are strong, and the base things of the world and the things that are despised." And He has been developing among them characters of the finest fibre and the most genuine love. Especially in central and Northwestern Korea, the provinces of Kiung Kei Whang Hai, and Pyeng Yang, where the China-Japan war plowed up the emotions and minds of the people for the missionaries' sowing of the good seed of the gospel, have a great many groups of earnest Christians sprung up; and, as in the persecutions that followed the death of Stephen, they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the gospel, so these Korean Christians with joy and singleness of heart are spreading everywhere the knowledge of what they themselves have found.

And what they have found, and how truly they have found it, can best be shown by their own life stories. I brought home from Korea a bundle of them which they were eager to write out, even as they were eager daily to tell others of the great Saviour and Deliverer of whom they had learned. One is the story of Ye Yung Min, a gentle, cheerful man, of unresting energy, and the most indefatigable personal worker I have ever met. He went with us on a week's tramp across the country to Seoul, and he preached Christ to every soul he met. All day long he trudged along singing,

usually, "Nothing but the blood of Jesus,"—in Korean, of course—until he overtook another traveller, when he would at once begin, "Friend, will you not believe in Jesus Christ?" After the weary journey of the day, when we were lying on our beds in the open air of the village street, in the sultry nights of August, we would see him in the moonlight squatting on his heels, Korean fashion, with a circle of listeners around him to whom he tired not of speaking of the guilt of human sin and the preciousness and power of his Redeemer. This was Ye's testimony:

"I was a Confucian scholar. I was proud of my Chinese knowledge. Also I was a fortune-teller, and told others of the future, and selected lucky places and times, so that I had the praise of my friends for many years. One day, four years ago, a missionary preached to me, and gave me books of Matthew and John. And I read these books at home for days. While I was reading the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of John one day I understood. After that I went every Sunday to the missionary to pray, and ask him the meaning of things in the Bible I could not understand. I am very grateful to the missionary because he loved and helped me greatly. I found that every one is sinful, but I am worse than others, because I was a fortune-teller and served idols. Since I believed in Christ my mind is peaceful, even though I am beaten and cursed by others. Christ died on the cross for the world, so how can I blame the people who beat and revile me? So I pray for my enemies and love them that hate me. I have learned three kinds of duties,—prayer, preaching, and meditation. Now my parents and brethren, wife and children, all believe in Christ. So my days are full of joy, but I do wish to be diligent, not to fall into temptation and sin. I

beg you pray for us every day, that we may avoid evil."

Song was a man of different type, reserved at first acquaintance, but full of dramatic vivacity when the springs were opened. He had made his way to the light through one of the mystical, theosophic systems which flourish in a soil like Korea, where Shamanistic superstition supplements the deficiencies of Confucian agnosticism. This was what Song wrote:

"The story of Song In So, who lives in Whan Chan, of the magistracy of Pyeng Yang, of the province of Pyeng Yang, in which he tells about his life previously and after becoming a Christian. Being from my childhood fond of study, I studied the false Korean doctrines, but never followed the teachings of any of them, and was drinking, gambling, and following a wild life. Once, while visiting a Christian friend of mine, I asked him what business he had to spoil people with that foreign doctrine, while there were so many good Korean doctrines, and of what use was it to him to throw away Confucianism. Abusing him thus, I left. Afterwards I went once to the Christian preaching-house with the intention of abusing the foreigners, but was received there very cordially. Being in a very embarrassing position, I tried not to listen to the preaching, but looked over the books that were on the table, and found that they were books that I never saw before, and that they were written with the purpose of deceiving people and making them become Christians. I took three of those books, but, expecting to be ridiculed by other people, put them away without reading. In June, 1892, during the rainy season, being once very lonesome, I thought of the Christian books, and read them. I easily understood what was said in them, and thought that everything was

right. Thus I became much interested in Christianity. Once a teacher of 'Cha-riok' (a science which teaches how, by the use of certain medicines, to obtain supernatural strength, such, for example, as to be able to jump over the highest house) called on me. He said that the Christian doctrine was quite useless, and proposed that I should study 'Cha-riok.' I thought it would be worth while to try, and, on asking how long it would take, I learned that it does not take a smart man more than a week; otherwise, two or three weeks. I decided to try it for a week. At the end of that time I began to feel as if I obtained so much strength that my body was lifting itself up from the floor and moving about in the air. Thus getting the impression that my teacher was right, I continued my studies for two weeks more, at the close of which I really began to feel as if I could move mountains and jump over oceans. I have to confess, though, that in a short time I was forced to find out that all this was nothing but imagination, and so I returned home. Soon after that, a Christian man by the name of Han Lok Chin called on me, and, telling me about God and about Christ, said that, if I did not repent of my sins, I should have to undergo an everlasting punishment. I was frightened, and since that time I believed in the Lord, began to preach to others, and grew in my belief. The magistrate in my city was persecuting Christians, and so I had to leave that place, and came to the Pyeng Yang Christians. There were several other Christians who ran away from persecutions. Mr. Moffett, the missionary, gathered us once, and, giving us a very good lesson from the Bible, set our minds at peace. In the spring of A. D. 1895 I began to feel God's call and my duty to go to my native town and preach the gospel there. Being zealous for the growth of the church, I

preached to everybody, and on Sundays held meetings, where I tried to explain the Bible. At Pyeng Yang I went to the missionaries' Bible classes, and, as my knowledge in the Bible grew more and more, my faith became stronger and stronger. I was very much troubled that my parents and my own family did not believe, but the loving Lord heard my prayers, and our whole family repented of their sins, and were now born to become God's children. It is impossible for me to tell freely about all that the Lord has been doing for me in His loving-kindness, therefore I tell only very briefly about it."

These were two of the Korean Christians, men of simple faith, convinced of their own sin, and joyfully trusting Jesus Christ, the only Saviour. Him they were preaching to all, after first bringing their own households to Him. Very winning and attractive they were, bringing vividly to our view what the early Christians, stumbling, primary, but full of divine love and gladness, must have been. And, thinking of them, my heart turns back longingly to them, and I do not at all agree with the captain of the Palos that

" Those who escape never care to return
To that ' morning calm ' country again,
Where there's nothing on earth that would cause one to yearn
For that far-away land of Chosen."

XXXIII

MISSIONARY BIOGRAPHIES

LIVES and deaths are the world's great teachers. "Of all the pulpits from which the human voice is ever sent forth," says Mr. Ruskin, "there is none from which it reaches so far as from the grave." "You," Paul says to the Corinthians,—"you and the epistle of your life are known and read of all men." From lives and deaths have come the world's great influences of blessing. "If, while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by His life." In a true sense, deaths and lives, fashioned in self-sacrifice after Christ's, are full of reconciliation and salvation still, none more so than the lives and deaths of those who, realizing the meaning of Christ's words, "As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you," have followed in His footsteps as missionaries.

Why are we so slow to recognize this? "How can I maintain a warm missionary interest?" says one. "How can I interest others?" asks a second. "I find it difficult to preach effective missionary sermons," complains the preacher. The young worker wonders how the monthly missionary meeting can be kept up year after year, and never lose freshness and power. "How can this group of boys," the band-leader inquires, "be made to take delight in missions?" There is one answer to all these: Do you use the rich and ever richer stores of missionary biography?

There is power in these life stories. See it in the unmeasured and continuing influence of the life of

David Brainerd. In 1746, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in Edinburgh, published his journal. He died the next year at the age of thirty-one. He was no genius, orator, scholar, or discoverer. Is there any influence stronger than his? His journal inspired Carey, and helped to shape his course. Martyn read it at Cambridge, and it made him a missionary. Murray McCheyne read it, and was moulded by it. "The Memoirs of David Brainerd and Henry Martyn gave me particular pleasure," wrote young John Wilson in 1824. "Try to get hold of the life of John Wilson, the great Scotch missionary of India," wrote Keith-Falconer in 1878. The apostolic succession goes on. Let any minister or worker, conscious that his power has departed from him, or that he needs more, turn to this old-time record of a life of utter devotion and prayer.*

And there is fascination of interest in a life like Martyn's. Sir James Stephens declared his to be "the one heroic name which adorns the annals of the Church of England, from the days of Elizabeth to our own." Who can read, without feeling the attractiveness of it all, the story of the mine captain's son, who was Senior Wrangler, who, with the burden of a hopeless human love on his heart, went to India as a chaplain of the East India Company, preaching on the way in Brazil and among the Hottentots, shivering in India "as if standing, as it were, in the neighbourhood of hell;" who mastered Arabic and Persian that he might understand the Koran and translate the Scriptures; who left India in 1811 to reach Persia and Arabia to preach there and complete his translations; and who, broken in health, fell at Tokat in 1812, having literally

* *Memoirs of David Brainerd.* Edited by J. M. Sherwood, New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

realized his own prayer, "Now let me burn out for God." *

Can any one read the life of Alexander Mackay, and not be stirred to the depths of his soul? "Unable to arouse interest in missions,"—surely the man who says this must have lost sensitiveness to the noble and glorious in life. Stanley thought the sight of him worth a long journey, and his words are commended to all mourners over missions: "He has no time to fret and groan and weep; and God knows, if ever man had reason to think of 'graves and worms and oblivion,' and to be doleful and lonely and sad, Mackay had when Mwanga, after murdering his bishop, and burning his pupils, and strangling his converts, and clubbing to death his dark friends, turned his eye of death on him. And yet the little man met it with calm blue eyes that never winked. To see one man of this kind working day after day for twelve years bravely, and without a syllable of complaint or a moan, amid the 'wildernesses,' and to hear him lead his little flock to show forth God's loving-kindness in the morning and his faithfulness every night, is worth going a long journey for the moral courage and contentment one derives from it." When Stanley's party came away, the last sight was of the lonely figure of "the best missionary since Livingstone" standing on the brow of the hill, waving farewell, and then turning back to his work and his God. Is there no interest in that lonely figure? †

Adoniram Judson's life, much less wholesomely rounded than Mackay's, resembles more the excessive-

* *Henry Martyn.* By George Smith. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co.

† *Mackay of Uganda.* By his Sister. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

ness and mysticism of Brainerd and Martyn. Our admiration for it needs qualifications; but who can read the inscription of the marble tablet in the Baptist meeting-house at Malden—

IN MEMORIAM.

Rev. Adoniram Judson,
Born August 9, 1788,
Died April 12, 1850.
Malden, his birthplace.
The ocean, his sepulcher.
Converted Burmans, and
The Burman Bible
His monument.
His record is on high.

without desiring to read that part of his record which is written here on the earth? It was a missionary book —Buchanan's *Star in the East*—which awakened Judson's missionary spirit. He would have been a great man in any sphere. His father foresaw it. As a missionary his name is not far below Paul's. Though the foremost of American missionaries, the story of his life is little told outside of the Baptist churches. Yet there is wealth of interest in it. Even children understand the heroism of the spirit which endured calmly for months, during the imprisonment at Ava, taunts and insults, racking fever and ague, the sight of dying and tortured fellow-prisoners, only to break utterly, while "the tears flowed down to the chains that clanked about his ankles," when his wife brought their newborn baby, in her frail arms, to be kissed through the iron bars of his cell, and offered to him a mince-pie, made with effort and suffering, to remind him of old

New England, where, to judge from present habits,—and may God forgive us that it is so!—hundreds of Christians were offering no prayer and taking no thought for him. Does the life of the Son of God himself interest those who are not interested in such lives as these? *

Aside from the example and teaching of Jesus, there is no richer field than missionary biography for the study of one who believes in prayer, and would help others to realize its power and use it. The life of William C. Burns, of China, must suffice for illustration. "Know him, sir?" exclaimed one, with almost indignant surprise, when asked if he knew Burns. "All China knows him. He is the holiest man alive." It is easy to understand why men felt this way. While residing in Edinburgh, before going to China, he had a private key to the church of St. Luke's, and there an entry in his journal indicates that at least on one occasion he was "detained" a whole night in solitary prayer "before the Lord." In beginning his ministry in Dundee, he was known to spend the whole night on his face on the floor, praying that he might meet the responsibilities laid upon him. "All the week long 'he filled the fountains of his spirit with prayer,' and on Sabbath the full fountain gave forth its abundant treasures." Such prayer makes influence immortal.

"O William Burns! we will not call thee dead,
Though lies thy body in its narrow bed
In far-off China."

When the trunk containing the property he had left behind was opened in England, there were found "a

* *The Life of Adoniram Judson.* By Edward Judson. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

few sheets of Chinese printed matter, a Chinese and an English Bible, an old writing-case, one or two small books, a Chinese lantern, a single Chinese dress, and the blue flag of the 'Gospel Boat.' 'Surely,' whispered one little one amid the awestruck silence,—'surely he must have been very poor.'" There was One who for his sake and ours had been poorer still.*

For purposes of sober illustration or intense appeal to the unselfish and heroic, nothing can surpass the life of David Livingstone, whom Florence Nightingale called "the greatest man of his generation." The vision of the boy placing his book on the spinning-jenny, and studying amid the roar of the machinery at Blantyre, or sitting contentedly down before his father's door to spend the night, upon arriving after the hour for locking it; the old coat, eleven years behind the fashion, which he wore when he emerged at Cape Town after Kolabeng had been pillaged; the sadness of the scene when he buried his little daughter in "the first grave in all this country," he wrote to his parents, "marked as the resting-place of one of whom it is believed and confessed that she shall live again;" his jocular letters to his daughter Agnes about his distorted teeth, "so that my smile is like that of a hippopotamus;" the meeting with Stanley when he was a "mere ruckle of bones;" the indomitable grit of the man whose last words in Scotland were: "Fear God, and work hard,"—this life is full of such things as these, capable of use, inviting it. And when, before or since, has this world been swayed by eloquence comparable with that of his death? No pulpit has ever spoken with such power. The worn frame kneeling by the bedside at Ilala, pulseless and still, while the

* *Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, M. A.* By the Rev. Islay Burns, D. D. London: James Nisbet & Co.

rain dripped from the eaves of the hut, dead in the attitude of prayer, solitary and alone, sent a thrill through the souls of men, which, thank God! is vibrating still, and, with or without the help of those who are "not interested," is working out the redemption wrought once for Africa by the world's Redeemer.*

Are preachers and teachers missing the blessing enfolded in these lives, and derivable from them?—each the life of

"One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

* *Personal Life of David Livingstone.* By W. G. Blaikie New York: Harper & Brothers.

XXXIV

MISSIONARY HEROISM I HAVE KNOWN

ONE of the most heroic missionary lives I have known closed in this lower sphere of service on the 18th of February, 1899, in Tung-chow, China. Julia Brown was born near Delaware, O., July 6, 1837. Her mother died when she was eight years old and her father when she was fifteen. When she was eighteen, she confessed Christ as her Saviour, and, having spent her small patrimony in her education, went out to make her own way in the world.

In 1862 she married the Rev. Calvin W. Mateer, and the next year they started for China on a sailing vessel, which took 167 days to go around the Cape of Good Hope to Shanghai. The food and the treatment by the captain permanently injured Mrs. Mateer's health, but a murmur never once in her long missionary life of thirty-four years escaped her lips. In all that time she came home to the United States but twice.

The great work of her life was at the Tung-chow College, which she and her husband founded and developed. She taught, had charge of the accounts, looked after the boarding-department and a hundred things. She studied medicine, and became a really skillful physician. But most of all, she sank her life into the lives of the young men. Of this slow, loving, exhausting work she never wearied; she hungered to win lives to Christ, and of the 142 graduates at the time of her death, every one was a Christian.

On her sixtieth birthday the Chinese Christians presented her with a large blue tablet inscribed with the

four Chinese characters signifying "The Venerable Nourishing Mother of Heroes." Her young men have gone far and wide through China, and wherever they have gone her remarkable influence has gone also. She sought no fame. She endured hardness. She smiled at suffering. She did not desire ease. All lesser heroism of bravery in physical peril in her life pales beside the noble heroism of a whole life, frail and painful often, spent without pride or plaint, for the young men of China.

Another of the truest missionaries ended the toil of an heroic life in Africa less than four years ago. Miss Ellen C. Parsons has told his life-story in *A Life for Africa.* Adolphus C. Good was of the best type of American country boys, simple, alert, self-reliant, fearless, patient, resolute, modest, true. Twelve years covered his work for his Master. It was another life in which the heroism of the whole life swallowed up and obscured those trivial dangers, threatenings, tragic situations, and escapes which are the commonplace of missionary history.

The quiet, heroic unselfishness of the man is illustrated in what he calls his "unvarnished selfishness" in a letter to his wife. "In the present state of our mission there is no honourable course for me but to stay on the old craft as long as I possibly can. The Board, the Church, and you would despise me if I were to leave the field now. If I ever go home, I want to go with nothing to be ashamed of. But I will tell you what I have done, and you will vote it about the most selfish thing I ever proposed. I laid a request before the mission which opens the way for you to come out again. . . . When I think of the comforts and the friends that surround you, inviting you out to this land of bush and mosquitoes to relieve my loneliness seems

unvarnished selfishness. . . . Evenings are most lonely when mosquitoes make it impossible to read or write, and I can only walk the floor and think. But don't worry; I am not going to die of home-sickness in a hurry. . . . To leave work here for personal comfort would be little less than treason." This was his spirit, and in this spirit opening a way into the interior, he died of fever.

"It is well that I die upon the field
Where I have lived and worked and fought;
I die upon my shield."

Missionary history in Africa under the equatorial sun is full of brave self-denials, but I know of scarcely anything more quietly heroic than the conduct of one young missionary, who to prepare himself for the hard journeys through the forest into the interior toughened his feet by going barefoot over the rough coast until he should be esteemed fit to have a share in the more arduous service he coveted.

The heroism of surrendering children, of sundering homes, of long separations, lasting for years in the case of some husbands and wives I know, are too sacred to be laid bare; but the very common heroism of isolation endured cheerfully for Christ's sake is so vital a part of ordinary missionary life as to demand illustration.

I think at once of a woman in Persia, for more than twenty-five years a missionary to Armenians and Mohammedans. We went with her in October, 1896, from Tabriz, her home, to Mianduab, a Moslem town at the southern end of the lake of Oroomiah, which she proposed to make her home for many months. It was four days' journey away from the nearest people of her own language and race. Here she settled among

the Moslems in a little mud house of one room and a small hall; and, when we rode away, she stood smiling before her door, waving her hand to us and surrounded only by the poor Moslem women, among whom she had come not to be ministered unto, but to minister.

A year after, she wrote this report: "By the help of God I read and taught the pure gospel, at first with fear and trembling. Afterwards I began to feel that I was too cautious, and I determined, if all the powers of hell should rise up against me, I would declare the whole word of God. . . . Many who had been coming to my meetings stopped coming. I was warned not to say that Christ is God. I replied that I must preach the word of God just as I found it in His holy Book."

And so she did, and for almost a year in that Moslem town, never seeing any of her own people, among the followers of the Prophet who forbade his disciples to have dealings with Christians except to humiliate them and bring them low, living in her little mud house through the cold and storms of winter, Miss Jewett worked, winning the love and confidence of all, and coming away only when it became evident that to do such work again she must get away for a little while to some station where she could see others and have a few of the necessities of life. Such isolations, separations from home, and identification with the indescribable, deadening conditions of heathen life are the every-day requirements of true missionary service.

I recall now another illustration, picked out of scores. A missionary wrote one winter that he had stopped talking to the Chinese around him, and was writing his note in a Chinese house, where he and a friend were staying on an itinerating trip. It was a bitterly cold winter. His hands were trembling and

blue. His tongue was so wearied that he could scarcely speak longer. It lay heavy and swollen in his mouth. It was opportunity, opportunity, opportunity. And they were so insufficient!

The life of native Christians is too often a constant demand for heroic endurance and courage. The convert comes out from his own people, sets himself in antagonism to the prejudices of his nation, at once lays himself open to the charge of a want of patriotism, of filial piety and loyalty, is ostracized and too often subjected to a persecution that ends in martyrdom.

The Laos mission of the Presbyterian Church was born of such sacrifice. In 1868 the first converts, eight in all, were arrested. Two were taken before the authorities and confessed that they had forsaken Buddhism. The death yoke was then put around their necks and a small rope was passed through holes in their ears and carried tightly over the beam of the house. After a night of torture they still refused to deny Christ, and were told to prepare for execution. Taken off into the jungle, they were pounded to death with clubs, and one of them who lived too long under this punishment was also thrust through the heart with a spear. Each of those two martyrs is now represented by more than a thousand Christians.

Some of the finest instances of heroism displayed in our missions are among the Moslems. The life and death of Mirza Ibrahim were illustrations of this. A few years ago at Khoi, in Persia, this Mohammedan accepted and confessed Christ. His wife, children, and property were taken from him, and, though sick and feeble, he was forced to flee. At Urumia he found refuge with the missionaries; but he was bent upon preaching Christ, and he was soon summoned before the governor and beaten, even the governor kicking

him. He resisted bribery, by which he was tempted to deny Jesus, and was thrown into prison with a chain about his neck and his feet in the stocks. From the Urumia prison he was removed to Tabriz, where he was placed in an underground dungeon with an iron collar about his neck.

The government feared to execute the law of Islam, that apostates must be put to death, knowing that if this were done openly, it would help Mirza Ibrahim's cause by letting all the people know that an intelligent Moslem had rejected Islam and become a Christian. So he was slowly abused to death, and then, the Moslems refusing him burial, was buried by night by some Christians in the grave of a rich Moslem whose body had been removed to another burying-ground. Like his Master, he made his grave with the rich, as, like his Master, he had fearlessly borne witness to the truth by his life and his death.

Heroisms! Missionary lives are full of them. Daily we bow gratefully before God for the privilege of having a part in a work so full of them.

XXXV

LI HUNG CHANG AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

IT is not possible to believe that Li Hung Chang did not truly desire the improvement of his country. He was entitled, of course, to form his own judgment of what would be good and what evil, and he was right in thinking of China first, and foreign powers second; but that he was also earnest in desiring to see China awakened from her lethargy and death, and adopting so much of Western civilization as would fit her for self-defence in commerce and in war, we must believe. Furthermore, it is not possible to discredit his expressions of appreciation of the work of Christian missions in helping his countrymen.

This appreciation was not a recent thing. It was in 1879 that he became interested in Dr. Mackenzie of the London Missionary Society, through the cure of his wife under Dr. Mackenzie's care; and he not only gave liberally to Dr. Mackenzie's medical work, but he aided in establishing a medical school, urged the starting of a vaccine establishment, and seemed to understand, as Mackenzie thought, "the purpose and object of the missionary's life;" and he adds, "In giving me the free use of his name, and taking upon himself the support of the work, His Excellency knows I am a Christian missionary and will make use of every opportunity for the furtherance of the gospel."

About the same time that Li Hung Chang was becoming interested in medical missions, he gained a new insight into the charitable spirit of the missionary work as he saw it relieving the sufferings of thousands of starving Chinese in the great famines of 1876-78.

How he felt toward the missionaries and others who had contributed to the relief of the suffering was indicated in the letter sent, at Li Hung Chang's instruction, by the Chinese minister in London to Lord Salisbury, on October 14, 1878:

"The noble philanthropy which heard, in a far-distant country, the cry of suffering, and hastened to its assistance, is too signal a recognition of the common brotherhood of humanity ever to be forgotten, and is not a mere passing response to a generous emotion, but a continued effort, persevered in, until, in sending the welcome rain, Heaven gave the assuring promise of returning plenty, and the sign that the brotherly succour was no longer required."

This letter closed with an expression of gratitude to "the various missionary societies who inaugurated the China Famine Fund."

In many ways the great Viceroy has expressed his sympathy with the missionaries. He had an exceptional opportunity for doing this when he visited the United States in 1896, and received a deputation from the American Missionary Societies at the Hotel Waldorf on September 1. In behalf of the societies an address was presented by the Rev. Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, and, after it had been read, the Viceroy's reply was, through his interpreter:

Gentlemen: It affords me great pleasure to acknowledge the grateful welcome to this country offered to me by you as the representatives of the various boards and societies who have engaged in China in exchanging our ideas of the greatest of all truths which concern the immortal destinies of men.

In the name of my August Master, the Emperor of China, I beg to tender to you his best thanks for your approval and appreciation for the protection afforded to the American missionaries in China. What

we have done,—and how little we have done on our part!—is nothing but the duty of our government, while the missionaries, as you have so ably expressed, have not sought for pecuniary gains at the hands of our people. They have not been secret emissaries of diplomatic schemes. Their labours have no political significance, and the last, not the least, if I might be permitted to add, they have not interfered with or usurped the rights of the territorial authorities.

In a philosophical point of view, as far as I have been enabled to appreciate, Christianity does not differ much from Confucianism, as the Golden Rule is expressed in a positive form in one while it is expressed in the negative form in the other. Logically speaking, whether these two forms of expressing the same truth cover exactly the same ground or not, I leave to the investigations of those who have more philosophical tastes. It is, at the present, enough to conclude that there exists not much difference between the wise sayings of the two greatest teachers, on the foundations of which the whole structure of the two systems of morality is built. As man is composed of soul, intellect, and body, I highly appreciate that your eminent Boards, in your arduous and much esteemed work in the field of China, have neglected none of the three. I need not say much about the first, being an unknowable mystery of which our greatest Confucius had only an active knowledge. As for intellect, you have started numerous educational establishments which have served as the best means to enable our countrymen to acquire a fair knowledge of the modern arts and sciences of the West. As for the material part of our constitution, your societies have started hospitals and dispensaries to save not only the souls, but also the bodies, of our countrymen. I have also to add that in the time of famine, in some of the provinces, you have done your best to the greatest number of the sufferers to keep their bodies and souls together.

Before I bring my reply to a conclusion I have only two things to mention.

The first, the opium smoking, being a great curse to the Chinese population, your societies have tried

your best not only as anti-opium societies, but to afford the best means to stop the craving for the opium; and also you receive none as your converts who are opium smokers.

I have to tender, in my own name, my best thanks for your most effective prayers to God to spare my life when it was imperilled by the assassin's bullet, and for your most kind wishes which you have just now so ably expressed in the interests of my sovereign, my country and people.

Dr. Wells, president of the Presbyterian Board, who was present at this meeting, and whose white beard and venerable appearance attracted the Viceroy's attention, was asked by the latter, "How old are you?" and on replying, "Eighty-one," the Viceroy responded, "God has kept you, may He keep you still!"

At the close of the presentation the Viceroy asked Dr. Ellinwood, "How many boards and societies are there in China from America?"

Dr. Ellinwood: "Eleven; but we represent about eight millions of people."

The Viceroy: "They are all represented here?"

Dr. Ellinwood: "Yes."

The Viceroy: "You will be good enough to convey the Viceroy's thanks to all those people. The Viceroy fully appreciates the philanthropic object you have in view."

At the close, while the representatives of the missions were already beginning to disperse, the Viceroy again spoke to Dr. Ellinwood, laying his hand upon his arm, saying: "I greatly appreciate the kind expressions which you gentlemen have made to me, and especially your kind wishes for my safe return to my home." This added expression was evidently heartfelt.

The memory of this meeting remained with Li Hung Chang. In the following spring he gave to the Rev. Gilbert Reid a letter of approval of his special missionary work, in which he recalled his American friends, and also spoke of his hope that China might be willing to receive some of the light that was pouring from the West.

"It is unfortunately true," he wrote, "that suspicion, prejudice, and self-sufficiency are peculiar traits of educated Chinese, especially noticeable in their estimation of other countries,—perhaps because of the isolation of China from Western influence for so many centuries; but, whatever may be the cause, lamentable effect is seen in the present backward state of China among the nations of the world.

"The social, educational, and official systems of China, have tended to give to the educated class control of the destinies of the nation. Whether such a monopoly of power be good or bad, need not now be considered; it exists, and the practical question is, how to turn it into beneficent and useful channels. . . . Unquestionably, if you can give to the blind leaders of our people light and learning enjoyed in the West, they, in turn, will lead our people out of their darkness. I think I may claim to have many friends in the United States, where you now go. The cordial reception I met with wherever I went there made a deep impression upon my heart, and has greatly endeared your people to me. If it would interest them to know that I regard you highly, and give you a helping hand in your future efforts to bring more light into the world and encourage higher aims for human aspirations, you may use for that purpose this letter from Your friend,

"Li Hung Chang,

"Senior Guardian of the Heir-Apparent; Classical Reader of His Majesty the Emperor; Senior Grand Secretary of State; Minister of the Foreign Office, and Earl of the First Rank."

During the Boxer troubles in China the great Viceroy was not unnaturally bitter against the West, and it would not have been surprising if he had, in his general anger, spoken harshly of the missionaries too. But his judgments were in the main just to them, as I have already pointed out.

And now the great man is gone, and his people burned their foolish paper images about his house, to supply his spirit with all things necessary to its comfort in the unknown world to which it has gone. Doubtless he himself would have wished to have it so. With all his enlightenment he was a Chinese still. The standards of his life were the standards of China, and he would not have wished to be separated from his people in the manner of his death and burial. He has won his rest at last, after a full and distinguished life, and if he never really sympathized with or understood, the religious significance of Christian missions, he at least appreciated their noble spirit of unselfishness and kindness, and gave to his appreciation more than one expression that we must believe was sincere.

XXXVI

THE CIVILIZING INFLUENCE OF MISSIONS

"IT seems to me a great truth," said Carlyle, "that human things cannot stand on selfishness, mechanical utilities, economics and law courts; that if there be not a religious element in the relations of men, such relations are miserable and doomed to ruin." In his Farewell Address to the people of the United States, George Washington declared the same truth: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political morality, Religion and Worship are indispensable supports." It is impossible that religion should fail to exercise the profoundest influence upon institutions and upon individual life in the Western nations. Its place is even more conspicuous in Africa and the East. There everything is bound up with it, government, commerce, social intercourse, architecture and industry. Whatever affects the religion of these peoples touches their life in every aspect of it. This is not always perceived by either the supporters or the critics of foreign missions, but it is true nevertheless, and it explains the immense influence exerted by missions in other directions than that of the direct evangelization which is their chief concern.

No other movement has accomplished anything like the proportionate results effected by missions in pacifying and civilizing the lower races. "During the present century," wrote General J. W. Phelps, prior to Madagascar's absorption by France, "and chiefly through missionary agency, Madagascar has passed from a state of pagan barbarism to one of Christian civilization in which it has entered and taken a stand

among the Christian nations of the world." "The missionaries have much to be proud of in this country," wrote A. R. Wallace of the Celebes, in *The Malay Archipelago.* "They have assisted the Government in changing a savage into a civilized community in a wonderfully short space of time. Forty years ago the country was a wilderness, the people naked savages, garnishing their rude homes with human hands. Now it is a garden." Karl Ritter, the great geographer, called the extinction of cannibalism and the social progress of missions in New Zealand, "the standing miracle of the age." While Darwin said of the change wrought in the island, "The lesson of the missionary is the magician's wand." It was of the social changes wrought in Terra del Fuego by the missionaries, that Darwin wrote his oft quoted testimony to the South American Missionary Society: "The success of the Terra del Fuego Mission is most wonderful and charms me, as I always prophesied utter failure. It is a grand success. I shall feel proud if your Committee think fit to elect me an honourary member of your Society."

By such influences missions have aided governments, and established and maintained order. "Christianity continues to spread among the Karens," said the Administration Report for British Burmah for 1880-1881, "to the great advantage of the Commonwealth, and the Christian Karen communities are distinctly more industrious, better educated and more law-abiding than the Burman and Karen villages around them. The Karen race and the British government owe a great debt to the American missionaries who have, under Providence, wrought this change among the Karens of Burmah. At the outset of missionary work in India, Schwartz had illustrated this power of mis-

sions, commanding the confidence of the people, and securing peace and order where the East India Company and the native rulers themselves were helpless. "Send me none of your agents," Hyder Ali said to the Company in some of their negotiations. "Send me the Christian missionary, Schwartz and I will receive him." A hundred years later, missionaries secured food for British troops during the Mutiny in districts which refused to provide it save at the missionary's solicitation. And to-day in India practically the only truly loyal section of the population is the native Church. Lord Palmerston saw this in his day, as did Sir Charles Wood, later Viscount Halifax.

Missions have introduced the agencies of civilization among more than the savage races. Sir William Hunter says of the little band of missionaries at Serampore, made up of Carey, Marshman and Ward, "They created a prose vernacular literature for Bengal; they established the modern method of popular education . . . they gave the first great impulse to the native Press; they set up the first steam engine in India, with its help they introduced the manufacture of paper on a large scale; in ten years they translated and printed the Bible or parts thereof in thirty-one languages." In China, the development of printing from movable type has been due almost wholly to the missionaries. The first matrices for casting metallic type were made by a typographer for the Royal Printing Establishment of France, the British Museum and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, at a cost of $6,600 each, the Presbyterian Board, though poor, making sacrifices to prevent the failure of the project, which required three orders before the matrices could be made. Practically all the fonts of Chinese type now in use can be traced back to the

Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai; while missionaries have introduced vegetables into Persia, fruits into China, sewing machines and quinine into Korea, and Western products into almost every country on the globe. The itinerant watchmakers and clock repairers of China, it is said, are almost all Roman Catholic Christians.

The missionaries are the greatest of the pioneer agencies opening the world and bringing the knowledge of it to the civilized nations. "We owe it to our missionaries" said the *London Times,* "that the whole region (of South Africa) has been opened up." Indeed, the one name which towers over all others in African explorations is David Livingstone's. "In the annals of exploration of the dark continent" said Stanley, "we look in vain among other nationalities for such a name as Livingstone's." "Religion, commerce and scientific zeal," said Professor Whitney of Yale, "rival one another in bringing new regions and peoples to light, and in uncovering the long buried remains of others lost or decayed; and of the three the first is the most prevailing and effective." In his book on *The Languages of Africa,* Dr. Cust speaks of "the wonderful, unexpected and epoch-making results of their (the missionaries') quiet labour." "Their contributions to history, to ethnology, to philosophy, to geography and to religious literature" says a Smithsonian publication, "form a lasting monument to their fame." As Sir H. H. Johnston says, "Indirectly, and almost unintentionally, missionary enterprise has widely increased the bounds of our knowledge, and has sometimes been the means of conferring benefits on science, the value and extent of which, it is difficult for us to appreciate and compute. Huge is the debt which philologists owe to the labours of British mis-

sionaries in Africa! By evangelists of our own nationality nearly two hundred African languages and dialects have been illustrated by grammars, dictionaries, vocabularies and translations of the Bible. Many of these tongues were on the point of extinction, and have since become extinct, and we owe our knowledge of them solely to the missionaries' intervention. Zoology, botany, and anthropology, and most of the other branches of scientific investigation have been enriched by the researches of missionaries who have enjoyed unequalled opportunities of collecting in new districts; while commerce and colonization have been notoriously guided in their extension by the information derived from patriotic emissaries of Christianity."

All this appeals less to the modern commercial judgment than the actual work of missions in promoting trade. They have done this in various ways. They have stopped war so as to allow the energies it consumed to engage in trade. "To be welcomed in the land of cannibals," said a Dutch traveller in Sumatra, Lunbing Hirum "by children singing hymns, this indeed shows the peace-creating power of the gospel." "The benefits" (of the missionary work in New Guinea), said Hugh Milman, a magistrate, "are immense; inter-tribal fights formerly so common, being entirely at an end, and trading and communication, one tribe with another, now being carried on without fear." The successful war which missions and philanthropy waged against the slave trade in Africa was of incalculable advantage to commerce in saving the honest trade of great areas from total destruction. Missionaries have taught trades, developed industries, created wants, and the results have been pure gain to commerce. "It is they," says Sir H. H. Johnston, in *British Central Africa,* "who in many cases have first

taught the natives carpentry, joinery, masonry, tailoring, cobbling, engineering, bookkeeping, printing, and European cookery; to say nothing of reading, writing, arithmetic, and a smattering of general knowledge. Almost invariably, it has been to missionaries that the natives of Interior Africa have owed their first acquaintance with a printing press, the turning-lathe, the mangle, the flat-iron, the sawmill, and the brick mould. Industrial teaching is coming more and more in favour, and its immediate results in British Central Africa have been most encouraging. Instead of importing painters, carpenters, store clerks, cooks, telegraphists, gardeners, natural history collectors from England or India, we are gradually becoming able to obtain them amongst the natives of the country, who are trained in the missionaries' schools, and who having been given simple, wholesome local education, have not had their heads turned, and are not above their station in life."

Furthermore, missionaries have been a conciliatory influence again and again, and have allayed hostility which diplomats and traders have aroused. They did this in Japan. The *Jiji Shimpo* one of the leading newspapers in Japan, speaks of this in advocating the sending of Buddhist missionaries to Korea. "Japanese visiting Korea will be chiefly bent upon the pursuit of gain and will not be disposed to pay much attention to the sentiments and customs of the Koreans or to allow their spirit to be controlled by any consideration of the country or the people. That was the case with foreigners in the early days of Japan's intercourse with them, and there can be no doubt that many serious troubles would have occurred had not the Christian missionary acted as a counterbalancing influence. The Christian missionary not only showed

to the Japanese the altruistic side of the Occidental character, but also by his teaching and his preaching imparted a new and attractive aspect to intercourse which would otherwise have seemed masterful and repellant. The Japanese cannot thank the Christian missionary too much for the admirable leaven that he introduced into their relations with foreigners, nor can they do better than follow the example that he has set, in their own intercourse with the Koreans."

And missionaries in the same conciliatory spirit have opened by treaty some sealed lands to Western intercourse and trade. The United States Government's treaty with Siam was negotiated in 1856, and Dr. Wood of the Embassy, wrote that "the unselfish kindness of the American missionaries, their patience, sincerity and faithfulness, have won the confidence and esteem of the natives, and in some degree transferred those sentiments to the nation represented by the missionary and prepared the way for the free and national intercourse now commencing. It was very evident that much of the apprehension they felt in taking upon themselves the responsibilities of a treaty with us would be diminished if they could have the Rev. Mr. Mattoon as the first United States Consul to set the treaty in motion." In 1871, the Regent of Siam frankly told Mr. Seward the United States Consul-General at Shanghai, "Siam has not been disciplined by English and French guns as China has, but the country has been opened by missionaries." The great districts of Uganda and Nyassa in Africa were practically secured to Great Britain by the missionaries of the Church of England and the Scotch Presbyterians. When the East Africa Company was on the point of giving up Uganda, which would probably have involved its loss to Great Britain, the Church

Missionary Society raised £15,000 of the £40,000 needed to maintain the Company's hold for one more year until the British Government could be induced to take it over. Of the work of the Scotch Presbyterians in Nyassa land, Joseph Thomson, the traveller, bore testimony after his visit in 1879. "Where international effort has failed," he said, "an unassuming Mission, supported only by a small section of the British people, has been quietly and unostentatiously, but most successfully realizing in its own district the entire programme of the Brussels Conference. I refer to the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland. This Mission has proved itself, in every sense of the word, a civilizing centre. By it slavery has been stopped, desolating wars put an end to, and peace and security given to a wide area of the country."

Let any one who doubts the influence of missions in moulding the social life, in affecting institutions, in establishing trade, in creating and fostering industries, in making producers and consumers and so developing commerce, turn to the second volume of Dr. Dennis's *Christian Missions and Social Progress,* and read there of the achievements of mission work in these subordinate and secondary spheres, and he will gain a new conception of the power and value of foreign missions. As Dr. Dennis shows, they have promoted temperance, opposed the liquor and opium traffics which are fatal to wise commerce, checked gambling, established higher standards of personal purity, cultivated industry and frugality, elevated woman, restrained anti-social customs such as polygamy, concubinage, adultery and child-marriage and infanticide, fostered the suppression of the slave trade and slave traffic, abolished cannibalism and human sacrifice and cruelty, organized famine relief, improved husbandry

and agriculture, introduced Western medicines and medical science, founded leper asylums and colonies, promoted cleanliness and sanitation, and checked war. "Whatever you may be told to the contrary," said Sir Bartle Frere, formerly Governor of Bombay, "the teaching of Christianity among 160,000,000 of civilized, industrious Hindus and Mohammedans in India is *effecting changes, moral, social and political,* which for extent and rapidity of effect are far more extraordinary than anything that you or your fathers have witnessed in modern Europe." "When the history of the great African States of the future comes to be written," says Sir H. H. Johnston "the arrival of the first missionary will with many of these new nations be the first historical event in their annals.

No friend of mankind can remain indifferent to a movement like this. The love of man as well as the love of God requires us to sympathize with it and to give it support.

XXXVII

THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE LAST CENTURY

THE last century was marked by more missionary spirit and a wider propagation of Christianity than have marked any other age of the Church, not excepting the apostolic generation. In the number of missionaries who have gone forth, in the gifts for their support, in the organized effort to evangelize the world, the century represents as much energy and activity, perhaps, as all the preceding centuries combined. And the vast enterprise of missions, as we know it now, has practically been a development of the hundred years just rounded to a close.

The whole attitude of the Christian Church toward the missionary project has changed during the century. It began with apathy and indifference, or even antagonism and bitterness. The official discouragement of Carey is historic. And it was only typical of the temperament of the time. George Hamilton opposed a missionary overture in the Church of Scotland General Assembly. And even after John Erskine's famous reply, beginning "Moderator, Rax me that Bible," Alexander Carlyle rose to support Hamilton, and said: "It would be highly absurd to think of making distant converts by external missionaries. This is the first time I remember to have ever heard such a proposal made, and I cannot also help thinking it the worst time." Men talk such nonsense still, but not in Church councils. The century has seen the Christian Churches pass into the axiomatic conviction that they

exist for missions, that they are the organs of the mission of the universal love of God. Contrast Alexander Carlyle's sentiment with the noble declaration of the last Lambeth Conference, that missions are "the primary work of the Church, the work for which the Christian Church was commissioned by our Lord."

And the century has seen the mission movement not only settled in the deepest conscience and purpose of the Church, but also vindicated in the judgment of civil governments. When, in 1807, the missionary press at Serampore issued "An address to all persons professing the Moslem faith," the Danish Governor of Serampore was instantly requested by the Governor General and Council of the East India Company "to interpose his authority to prohibit the issue of any more copies of the pamphlet, or of any publications of a similar description." Shortly after, the British Government issued an order forbidding preaching, and prohibiting the missionaries from printing any books "directed to the object of converting the natives to Christianity." And the resolutions of the Supreme Council to this end were justified on the ground that "the obligations to suppress, within the limits of the Company's authority in India, treatises and public preachings offensive to the religious persuasions of the people, were founded on considerations of necessary caution, general safety, and national faith and honour." Such reasoning sounds unintelligible to us, yet it was the common speech of governments at the beginning of the century. Compare this with the words of Palmerston when Prime Minister in the middle of the century: "It is not only our duty, but it is our interest to promote the diffusion of Christianity as far as possible throughout the length and breadth of India." And the words of Mr. Gladstone at its close, when

he spoke of "the noble character and the noble work" of Alexander Duff; of "the very heroic apostolic" Selwyn and Patteson, and added: "They, at least, have devoted all their energies to diminish the lamentable sum total of sins and sorrows in the world, and done something for their race and for eternity." The whole century lies between the foolish and unworthy Minute of the Earl of Minto in 1811, and the declaration of the present Viceroy, that the spectacle presented by the dominion of Great Britain in India is that of "British power sustained by a Christian ideal."

This remark of Lord Curzon's illustrates another significant growth of missionary spirit during the century. At the outset no Western nation felt called upon to justify its encroachments on Asia or its aggrandizement in other pagan lands by arguments of altruistic purpose, or the claim that its aggressions were in the interest of civilization. It seized what it wished. It plead no justification. It is not so now. The missionary argument and obligation have eaten into the moral conscience of civilization, and no State seizes territory from another now, or benevolently takes another State under its care without making some defence on the ground of missionary service of a political nature, or of zealous propagandism of the blessings of civilization. "The White Man's Burden" is a fruit of missions. The mission movement has forced the Western political advance into Asia and Africa to justify itself by arguments that were not dreamed of as necessary one hundred years ago.

Sometimes the movement that has accomplished this is sneered at as small and inconsequential. Truly, it is insignificant in comparison with what the Church could and should do, and would do if the mighty motives of the Cross ruled her life. And it was mean

and humble in its beginning. But one hundred years have witnessed an unimagined growth. At the beginning of the century there were perhaps seven Protestant missionary societies. Now there are two hundred or more. Then there were 170 missionaries, of whom 100 were connected with the Moravians. Now there are 18,000. Then there were, as Christlieb estimates, about 50,000 converts. Now there are 1,500,000. Then the total sum contributed annually for Protestant missions hardly amounted to £50,000. Now it exceeds £3,500,000. Then there were barely seventy Protestant missionary schools. Now there are scores of thousands. Then the Bible existed in fifty translations. Now in more than four hundred and fifty.

The work of missions has shown its supernatural character by its disproportion to the force which has been employed. The life, the energy, the money expended in one month of the Civil War exceeded all that has been devoted to missions during the century. Yet the smaller sacrifice has opened the whole world, has widened beyond description the stock of human knowledge, has created more homes than the whole Civil War destroyed, has dotted the heathen world with school-house and church, has transformed Christianity at home and redeemed millions of lives abroad, and shaken to their depths the non-Christian religions.

A missionary coming back from the first decade of the century into any mission field would notice this instantly. The whole attitude of the non-Christian faiths toward Christianity is changing. They are discovering that they cannot meet Christianity on the ground of their historic character and they are striving to postpone the inevitable by stealing the weapons of Christianity and trying to cover their nakedness with garments borrowed from the better faiths. Professor Mu-

kerji wrote recently in the *Indian Evangelical Review* of this great change in the religious attitude of the Hindus of Bengal, to take Hinduism alone as an illustration of all:

"Some people have the notion that Hinduism is yet destined to revive in Bengal, and they hope that the next generation of Bengalis will not be brought up in that religious nescience in which the present generation is being brought up. But where is this leaven to come from? I happen to be acquainted with some of the most scholarly *pundits* of Bengal. They are not in the ranks of the revivalists, but they command great respect among the Hindus. These *pundits* are utterly at sea with regard to religion. They are straightforward men, and they will tell you in so many words that they know nothing about God and the future life. One of them told me quite seriously that the whole Hindu system is a mere social system, which has no relation whatever with God, or with another world; that according to Hindu philosophy matter and force are the efficient cause of the universe, and that the Hindu religion simply gives expression to various philosophical ideas in the form of personifications or allegories.

"The common element, the most hopeful element to us Christians, in all the religious movement in Bengal, is this overt or covert recognition of Christianity as the purest and best of all religions. Raja Ram Mohun Roy would fain draw all the lessons of Christianity from the Vedas. Babu Bankim Chunder Chatterji would trace every lineament of the Son of Man in his sublimated and reformed Krishna. Swami Vivekananda and the Bengali Theosophists would out-Christian Christianity, though professing to be guided only by the dictates of the Vedanta and the Hindu Scriptures. Swami Vivekananda is our most prominent religious

reformer in Bengal at the present moment. I saw a good deal of his followers and his methods of work in connection with the famine operations in Bengal. Their imitation of Christian methods is very close; they did excellent work during the famine, and they have been since trying to establish an orphanage. They would make no difference between Hindu and Mohammedan children. They wish very much they could get up a Hindu nunnery and admit orphan girls into it; but in this matter their only hope lies in converting a number of Christian ladies to Hinduism, and getting them to conduct an orphanage for girls."

And the political institutions of heathenism have been disintegrating more rapidly even than its religious institutions. The same century that has witnessed the growth of Christianity and of Christian nations has witnessed the decay of paganism. India has passed wholly under control of Great Britain. China, Persia, Turkey have been crumbling before our eyes, and Siam with an intelligent king, the ablest statesman in China, as Count Ito called him, and Korea with a king who cannot be so described, are caught and crushed between antagonistic forces closing in on East and West. On the other hand, the populations under Protestant governments have grown from 157,000,000 to 500,000,000. And these governments are slowly absorbing control over the earth, checked on the North of Europe and Asia alone by the sway of the Greek Church and the Czar.

A scattered and unfamiliar world has found itself during the century that has slipped away. Its distant and unacquainted parts have been introduced and bound by indissoluble bonds. Ships and rails and cables like woof and warp tie and tie untiringly the peoples of the earth. We are coming now

into a new, at once a greater and a smaller world. We enter it with the experience of a century of missions behind us, with resources multiplied, incalculable, with a world open and no power to let or stay, with a heritage of splendid service which is the call to larger ministry, with the summons sounding to the toil of a new century to be to the last as a thousand years to ten.

XXXVIII

THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

THERE are two different opinions which a man may hold regarding his life. He may regard it as belonging to himself, as something under his control—and there are few men who have not at some time or other in life held that view. There is a time when it seems inexpressibly sweet, when the old shackles for the first time fall off; when the old limitations for the first time are laid aside; when a man for the first time feels on his brow the breath of the larger liberty, and looking out over his life says to it, "I am thy master." The other view of life regards it as belonging to somebody else, as not belonging to the man. This is the view of life which the Scriptures constantly take. "Ye are not your own," they say, "ye were brought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, which is God's. Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, such as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot." And this is the view which a reasonable man must take of his life. He knows perfectly well it does not belong to himself. He had nothing whatever to say about its coming into this world; he will have nothing whatever to say about its going out of this world. Regarding a good many influences which control it, he has nothing to say while he is in this world. Any man who will stop and deal squarely and honourably with himself for one moment will see that his life clearly is not his. And this is the view of life which Jesus Christ took of His. His life, He declared, was not His own. The

words that He spoke were not His own words; He simply spoke the words that were given Him by His Father. The works that He did were not His own works; He simply did the things that His Father had shown Him before He came. He came down from heaven, not to do His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him. And in this He revealed the true attitude of man toward his life. I am not my own. My life belongs to Christ as His life belonged to God.

Now, if our lives belong to Christ, if my life belongs to Christ, then it is my business to be of use to Christ wherever in this world I happen at any time to be. I have no right to serve myself. I have no right to do my own pleasure. I am here to do the works and to speak the words of Him to whom I belong. My business is to be of use to Him, wherever I am, in this world. I think all of us must have a great deal of sympathy with that man whom Jesus healed in the country of the Gadarenes; who after he had been healed, freed of his devils, wanted to sit down at Christ's feet and stay there. If I had been he, that is where I should have wished to sit, and it has always seemed a hard thing that Christ bade him go away. Yet He knew perfectly well that the man's first duty as one who now belonged to Him who had healed him and had spoken life to him, was to go out and be of service. "Go home," He said, "to thine own house, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee." The same truth is taught by a familiar story in the life of St. Francis of Assisi. He turned once to one of his younger monks in the monastery where he was living, asking him if he would accompany him on a little mission of preaching among the people of the village. The young monk, elated at the privilege of accompanying the good St. Francis, cor-

dially consented. And so arm in arm they went down out of the monastery, through the wicket gate, down under the hill, and through the streets of the village. They passed by group after group of men. They stopped here and there. St. Francis never opened his lips. After going in and out, they came back at last to the little hill that led up to the monastery. St. Francis had not spoken. They climbed to the little gate and came to the monastery. The young monk said, "When shall we begin to preach?" "Ah," said the elder monk, "we have been preaching all the way. Our example was noted, marked, looked at; but little had it availed us to go anywhere to preach if we had not preached as we went." He understood that in the service of Christ the emphasis is ever on the constant service, rather than on the intermittent activity or the occasional change of activity, or of place. The same truth exactly Jesus phrases in the fifteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter of Mark, which our English Bibles translate, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." There are not two imperatives there. Only one is an imperative, and it is the word "preach." Our Lord did not lay the obligation on the word "go." He assumed that those whom He saved would go, but He wished them to be ever serving. It would seem to be very clear that if a man belongs to Christ his business is to be of use to Christ, wherever he may be.

And it follows, it seems to me, with equal plainness that if we belong to Christ, then it is our business to be willing to be of use to Christ anywhere; that our sympathies must be as broad as the sympathies of Christ; that our hearts must go out as widely as the heart of Christ, and that while we are of use to Him where we are, we must be ready to be of use to Him

in any sphere; if it please Him, so much the better in the largest sphere. I think this can be made perfectly plain if we will only stop to think of three different things. First of all, the example, the spirit, and the words of Jesus Christ Himself. If we belong to Christ, then it is our life's passion to be like Christ, and to do the things that Christ told us to do. What was His mission? Pause for one moment quietly and calmly to think about it. It was a missionary mission from the beginning to the end. He proclaimed that it was. "I came not to condemn, but to save the world." It was heralded before He came as a missionary mission. Old Simeon, as he took the little child in his arms in the temple, saw in Him that Light that was to lighten the Gentiles, the Glory of His people Israel; and those of the evangelists who were keenest in seeing the broad bearings of Christ's coming in the divine development, marked how this mission of the Son of man was a missionary mission. He came, Matthew pointed out, that those who sat in darkness might see the great Light. He came that He might send judgment among the Gentiles, even the distant isles waiting for His law. Our Lord Himself described His mission as a missionary mission. The love of His Father for the whole race of men, He said, brought Him here. "God so loved the whole world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him [in the whole world] might not perish, but have everlasting life." His teaching was missionary teaching. He drew no line of cleavage between the need of Gentle and the need of Jew. His spirit was a missionary spirit. It was part of the necessity of the incarnation that God should be entangled in flesh; that He should limit Himself as men must, with certain limitations that were a part of His sharing our

common humanity. But though our Lord thus sunk Himself into flesh, He never lost that wide spirit that linked Him with all the children of God. Although He came in an age when Greek was cut off from Barbarian by the custom of the time, and Jew from Gentile by a caste line wider than that between Brahman and Chudra or Mahar, He still absolutely and resolutely refused to acknowledge or recognize racial or sectional lines. Many accused Him of being possessed with a devil, and also of being a Samaritan. He refused to pay any attention to the charge that He was a Samaritan. He knew perfectly the line of cleavage that separated Samaritan from Jew in His day; that it was not lawful for a Jew to eat that which a Samaritan had touched. But in spite of that, many of His best illustrations were selected from Samaritan life. He stopped by the well side in Samaria to talk to a woman, and through all His life He resolutely refused for one moment to tolerate in His presence any hostile or bigoted distinction between races or peoples. His prayers were missionary prayers. The prayer that He made when the Greeks came up to see Him at the feast, the prayer He made before the door of Lazarus' grave, were both missionary prayers; and when in His great prayer in the seventeenth chapter of John He said, "I pray not for the world," what was He doing but telling us with unmistakable plainness that the world was the chief object of His prayer at other times? It added but little to the strength of the missionary argument based on Christ's missionary spirit and Christ's missionary purpose, that at the end of His life He summed up His desires in those clean-cut commands which close the Gospels. Lord Curzon, in his book on *Problems of the Far East,* sneers at the missionary enterprise because, he says, it rests on a few detached

statements of Christ. If you cut off the last commands of Christ from the Gospels that recorded them, Christ's missionary purpose would not be less clear than it is, and Christ's missionary desire for His people would not be less distinct. I am very glad He phrased that last desire of His with such unmistakable plainness, but if He had not phrased it so, He said enough, He did enough, He was enough, to make it perfectly plain that any man who calls himself His, and would be true to Him, and not be hypocritical in his calling, must have a sympathy as wide as His Lord,—for the other sheep not of that Jewish fold; for the whole world of which He was the light; for the whole world, to give to which the living bread He had come down out of heaven. Therefore it seems to me if we really and truly belong to Jesus Christ, we must desire, because of what Christ was, to have hearts as large and sympathies as wide as His. To realize it more clearly, and familiar as His last words may be, let us refresh our memories of them. Recall them in their plain, unmistakable clearness as they are recorded in the last chapter of Matthew's Gospel, spoken on the brow of the mount in Gàlilee. "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you all the days, even unto the end of the age." Recall them as they are written with equally unmistakable clearness in the Gospel of Mark: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." Remember them as they are written in the last chapter of Luke's Gospel: "Thus it is written and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to

rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning from Jerusalem." Recall them as they are written in the first chapter of the Book of Acts: "Ye shall be witnesses to me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." And as the clouds came rolling down to catch Him up from the sight of men, until that day when we shall see Him come back again in His glory, and seeing Him as He is, shall be like Him, the last words that men heard from His lips were, "uttermost part of the earth; uttermost part of the earth."

And in the second place, if we belong to Christ, our hearts must feel for the world's need, as Christ's heart felt for that need, and we must look out upon it with His eyes, and hunger for it with His hunger, and long to help it as He longed to help it, and was willing for its satisfaction to lay down His life on the cross. It is no easy matter to put in a few words the mighty need of this great world. Call one or two witnesses to testify to the world's wants. Call Keshub Chunder Sen, one of the great leaders in India in the last century, and ask him for his testimony about his own land. In the appeal that he issued to the young men of India, these were his words: "Look at your social constitution and customs, the mass of enervating, demoralizing, and degrading curses they are working! . . . Idolatry is the curse of Hindustan, the deadly canker that has eaten into the vitals of native society." Call Kipling, who is no missionary, and who calls India "rotten." These witnesses are not suborned by Christian missions. They testify under no constraint.

We can look at the world's need from another point

of view. Bishop Thoburn says that there is one tract in his field where there are six millions of people unevangelized. In the Bombay Presidency in the Mission of the American Board, in the district of Satara, there are about one million, two hundred and fifty thousand people in a section of five thousand square miles, and until lately only one man to tell them the story of Christ and His love for them. I saw several years ago a letter from a missionary located in Northern India, in which he wrote:

"In the Mainpuri district there are 295 towns with from 500 to 1,000 inhabitants; 129 towns with from 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants; 39 towns with from 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants; 11 towns with from 3,000 to 5,000 inhabitants; 6 towns with from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. In most of these the gospel may have been preached two or three times during the last fifteen or twenty years, but there are 900 (or more exactly 897) villages in this district with less than 500 inhabitants to each, and how can the gospel light shine in all this district and in this multitude of crowded villages and towns, with so few to bear it, and with the home board ordering reductions in the estimates given.

"Here I am with an imperfect knowledge of the language, alone in a district about 30 miles square, with 801,216 inhabitants scattered in 1,379 towns and villages, Etah also under my care, with 1,489 towns, etc., and 756,523 inhabitants.

"Next to me is Mr. ——, alone in the district of Farrukhabad, with 907,608 inhabitants in 1,723 towns and villages, and one city of 70,000 inhabitants, and work enough for three missionaries at least, if you expect anything accomplished. Etawah district, with 668,641 inhabitants in 1,478 villages, has one man to represent the Presbyterian Church.

"The Presbyterian Church of America has undertaken to give the gospel to the two districts of Mainpuri and Etah, with a combined population of 1,557,739 souls residing in 2,868 towns and villages. To accomplish this glorious result and to fulfill the Lord's command to preach the gospel to every creature, the Presbyterian Church of America has stationed one missionary in this great parish, and proposes to put into his hands for keeping up schools, employing helpers, paying taxes on property and keeping it in repair, distributing tracts and Bibles, and for travelling expenses to superintend this great parish, the princely sum of $2,477. These figures speak for themselves. The missionary asked for less than one-fifth cent each, with which to provide for preaching the gospel to a parish of over one million and a half of souls and he is met with the reply that he must reduce his demands, for the Church cannot afford to give him so much."

The conditions have changed since this was written but it is still illustrative.

You may duplicate such pictures as this from many mission fields. Look at the little country of Colombia, to the south of us, with its 4,000,000 people, and five men—one to every 800,000 of its population, to tell the story of Him in whom God was reconciling the world to Himself. Dr. Arthur Mitchell used to tell the story of a midnight ride that he took on the Grand Canal, in China, when he drifted along that quiet stream, and heard the murmur of the millions who lived along it, the great majority of whom had never heard mention of the name of Jesus Christ. Here were cities of hundreds of thousands of people, no missionaries in them—while down over them all shone the same moon that eighteen hundred years ago fell upon the paschal sufferings of Him

who did not die for a little company; of Him whose love was not narrowed to a band of men gathered then or now, but whose love went out toward the whole world. If we belong to Jesus Christ, then we must feel for this world of Christ's as Christ felt for it; we must hunger for its redemption with the same intensity with which he hungered for it, and we must be willing, even as He was willing, to go to Calvary for its life.

And in the third place, if a man belongs to Christ his sympathies must be as wide as Christ's, for the sake of his own spiritual life. It is one of God's laws, as inexorable as any of His natural laws, that no man can keep spiritual blessing to himself. God will not let him do it. He will turn such blessing into ashes. When Paul quoted Christ's words in the twentieth chapter of the Book of Acts—"It is more blessed to give than to receive"—and saved us in that way the only words of Christ that are not recorded for us in the Gospels, he did something more than save us only one detached statement of Christ; he kept for us the very kernel of Christ's teaching. Whatsoever would save its life shall lose it, whether it is a local association, a local church, an individual Christian, a company of Christian men, any Christian organization, or a Christian Church, "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it." I do not need to tell the story of the anti-missionary Baptists, the story of the Moravian Church, or the story of human lives. All of us have seen God demonstrating this truth,—God's disapproval written upon the lives of men who think that they can appropriate wholly to themselves the salvation that is sent for all, without handing it on to others, for whom also He died.

And now what do men say in reply to all this? Well,

they say, "There is so much need here at home." Need for what? Need for more lawyers? Ask Mr. Depew, who at the commencement of the Yale Law School, some years ago, said that there were already over sixty thousand lawyers in this land—about twice as many as any legitimate business can be found for. Ask Justice Brewer, who, as President of the American Bar Association, at the annual meeting in St. Louis several years ago, made an even stronger declaration. The students who were at Northfield in 1889 will never forget a speech of the Dean of the Yale Law School, Prof. Wayland, in which he challenged the men looking forward to the law to stop on the threshold, and be very sure that they had the sanction of their Lord. I do not say one word against the practice of the law; but I do say that no man has a right to enter the law without being clear that that is the will of God for him. Need for what in this land? Need for more teachers? There are over four hundred thousand teachers already in this country. There is scarcely a vacancy that occurs in any one of our better institutions for which there are not twenty applications. The teachers' employment agencies are always busy. Need for what? Need for more business men? Bradstreet's says that ninety-five per cent of the business men in New York fail, the competition being so fierce, and bitter, and strong, and incompetency so common. Need for more ministers? There are one hundred thousand of them already in this land, one to every six or seven hundred of the population. It might be far better if there were only half as many; if the Spirit of God spread out the work that has been laid on their shoulders, on the shoulders of those who have been paying others to do their work for God in their stead. Need for what? Let us ask ourselves, need for what?

And then stop to think that if the ordained ministers alone in this land would speak to two souls each day for one year, they would in that year evangelize this whole land over again, having reached Christians and non-Christians alike. If the Sabbath-school teachers alone reached one man a day, inside of thirty days they would have re-evangelized this whole land. If the members of the Protestant churches spoke each to one soul a day each day of a week, at the end of seven days the United States would have been re-evangelized. There is plenty of work here in the United States, need along all these lines of which I have spoken. But let no one say, "There is plenty of need for Christian work here in the United States," and then go out into the United States and not do any of it. Hundreds of men have locked the foreign mission door in their own faces on the pretext that there was so much to do at home, and have then deliberately sought their own ambitions here at home.

Or, people say, "There is no immediate emergency; the thing has drifted for eighteen hundred years, and it can drift for eighteen hundred years more." No haste? I suppose such people have not "lost" anybody they love. Have they ever read the fourteenth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew—"And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all nations, and then shall the end come?" I do not press these words beyond the very clear meaning that lies upon the face of them. This gospel of the kingdom shall first be preached as a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come. The end of what? The end of tears. The end of sorrow. The end of death. The end of separation and parting. The beginning of that glad day when those who sleep in Christ shall wake, and all

the torn hearts of earth shall be healed, and all the separation shall be over, "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed." Do you say you do not want to see that day? Do you say you have got no interest in its coming? Very well, then, you may well turn your back on the last command of Christ; you may well turn your back on the wail of Christ's dying world; you may well turn your back on the needs of your own spiritual life—only remember that when you do so you read yourself out of the company of the true-hearted, large-souled children of Him who loved the whole world and gave His Son for its life.

Eight hundred years ago, in the month of November, in the market place of the little French town of Clermont, Pope Urban stood on a lofty scaffold, and spoke in words of living fire to the mighty throng that was gathered there, to listen to him, and as the orator spoke to the great throng, and swayed it as a man will sway a leaf with his breath, their cry rose up, ever louder and louder, "It is the will of God! It is the will of God;" "Ah," rejoined the orator, "it is indeed the will of God, and let this memorable word, the inspiration, surely, of the Holy Ghost, be chosen by you as your watch cry in battle as you go out as the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation. Wear it, a red and bloody cross, as a sign upon your hearts, or upon your shoulders, a pledge of your irrevocable engagement." And out from the market place of that little French town there poured a movement that lasted for two hundred years. It filled all Europe with the tread of innumerable armies. It whitened the Mediterranean with the sails of countless fleets. It swept in a great stream of Europe's best blood over Eastern battlefields. It erected lordly castles on Saracen soil. Then

it passed away, losing all that it had won, and remained only an heroic and pathetic episode in human history. The Crusades teach their lesson! They teach the lesson which will be learned in that day when men hear the cry of the new crusade, and are willing to fight for the cross with the weapons of Him whose last words from it were words of forgiveness and of peace. They teach the lesson of what God can do when the Spirit of God sweeps over the hearts of men and leads them to love the Christ as much as the crusaders loved His sepulchre. Would that now the Church might hear His voice declaring once again what is His will; might learn that His will is clear and plain; that it is not the satisfaction of selfish ambition; that it is not the chase of wealth; that it is not the search for honour, or the gratification of pride; but that it is a life laid out for God's world! A few years ago, in Great Britain, just before the Ashanti expedition was to start, the call was made for volunteers, and the Scots Guards were called out at Windsor and ranged before the commanding officer, that he might ask for volunteers. He explained what the expedition was, what it meant, the sacrifices that would be involved, and he said, "If any men in this company will volunteer, let them stand out," and supposing that only a few would volunteer, he turned away for a moment. The entire company advanced one step. Upon turning around he noticed the unbroken line of the Scots Guards and was surprised to see that not one had stepped forward, and cried indignantly, "What, the Scots Guards and no volunteers!" One of the corporals said, "The whole line stepped forward." Would that now when this larger expedition is calling for volunteers, when the uplifted cross of the Christ—who thirsted, not for the salvation of a few, but for the redemption of a world

—is held up before our eyes, we might hear the sweet and mighty call! How this land would thrill as the aspen quivers if only men by the hundreds should volunteer for God; desirous with Henry Martyn, not to burn out for avarice, to burn out for ambition, to burn out for self, but, looking up to that whole Burnt Offering, to burn out for God and His world!

XXXIX

THE DESIRE OF THE NATIONS*

WE live in an incomplete world, a world of longings and desires, amid men whose wealth consists of their needs and their discontents. There is another view of our world from this. There are those who weigh lightly the woes of their fellow-men; who have never heard the still sad music of humanity; who think it of slight account that other men should suffer, provided only their own lives are restful and at ease. I suppose there are some who take this irresponsible view of the world because they honestly believe that the world is fairly content. They look out over its teeming peoples, and see them superficially satisfied or at least resigned. There is something in the human race beside the dog. Even in hopelessness men resolve that they will live game and see it through. They find out after a while that the burdens must be borne, and they bend their backs to bear them, and smile beneath the bending. The world is, on the surface of it, a measurably contented world. I suppose some take this view because they have no deep needs themselves. Their own life is meat and drink. Things make it up, and not spirit; and, looking out over a world of men possessing things, they think the world is well enough off, with its things. And others we have met who view the world in this way because they have the spirit that Jesus pilloried once for all as the spirit that He most abhorred, in the parable of the

* An address before the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Saint Andrew, Baltimore, Md., September, 1898.

Good Samaritan, when He spoke of the Priest and the Levite who looked upon the man in his sufferings, gathered up their skirts with a feeling of irritation, doubtless, and passed by on the other side.

Men may take this view of the world, if they wish. It was not the view of Jesus Christ. He looked down upon a world that he realized was an incomplete world, a world with an unsatisfied desire,—made up of men and women who were lost; and He came to seek and to save that which was lost.

This world to which He came is a world with a desire. It is a world full of the common desires of life. Underneath all the superficial crust of its contentments, this is a world of suffering, wrought by poverty and riches and sin. Some years ago, I heard a man who had spent almost all his life in India—a man whom I never knew to be guilty of an exaggeration—say, "One-half the population of this world never knows what it is to have enough to eat. Every evening the sun sets upon hundreds of millions of hungry men and women and little children." I received recently, a letter from a friend who had been travelling through the mountains of Kurdistan, and he said in substance, "I can sum the whole picture up in just these words: I have scarcely been able to buy a chicken in the villages through which I have passed. It has been almost impossible to buy even an egg. The common food of the people in these villages has been a meal made out of one part of bran and five parts ground cobs of the corn. I have passed by many a house through whose doors the women do not dare to venture because they have not rags enough to hide their nakedness; though I have lived here for years I have never seen before such misery as among these mountain Nestorians." There are more pros-

perous lands. China is far more prosperous but even there there is want enough and in the land to the Southwest—a land blessed by better government than any other Asiatic land, a land lying in warm climates, where presumably life might be easier and its burdens less heavy to bear—only three years ago all the rest of mankind looked aghast upon people swept away by the score and the hundred and the thousand for the want of the mere necessities of daily life. We live in a world of bitter desire for the mere necessary things of human living. We live in a world of great physical need.

We live in a world of social desire. Consider only the place of woman in non-Christian lands. Man everywhere is the master of his own sufferings. I can understand how a man can be a heathen. But no woman is the mistress of her own sufferings. Man is the master of his, and of hers also; and the sorrows of her life, and its anguish and its pains, are the gifts of man. There is not one religion, save Judaism and Christianity, that does not sanction polygamy. There is not one that does not fling a half of the human race beyond the pale of God's destiny for it, except the Jewish faith and the faith that was brought to men by Mary's Son. We live in a world of great social desires.

We live in a world of great moral need. I do not know better how to suggest it than by an illustration. I passed through the Northwest Provinces of India some years ago and stopped for a gathering of students in the city of Allahabad—young men brought from the different universities and colleges of the Northwest Provinces, about a hundred men in all. On the Sunday afternoon, it seemed to a little group of us from America and Great Britain, who had known one another before and who had met there, that it would be a

good thing to gather all the students we could get of that university city in the largest hall available, and have a personal purity meeting. We sent a committee to wait on the head of the university, to ask him if he would allow us to use the large hall of the university building that afternoon. He said, "Not for a Christian meeting. The policy of the Government, of course, is neutrality in the matter of religion, and we cannot let you have it if you are going to preach Christianity there." We told him we were not going to preach any more Christianity than we felt he would not object to himself if he should be there. We wanted to bring before the students of that city (he knew as much as any man how much it was needed) the claims of the pure life. He said if that was all we could have it. A large number of young men of various religions came into the hall from the schools of the city. They sat down under the busts of their great men and the pictures of their great heroes painted upon the walls, Moslems and Hindus, and several of us spoke upon the claims of the pure life. At the end of the meeting a man from America, who was leading it, said: "Gentlemen, I think you have now got our idea—that this is the kind of life that men were made to live. We believe there is a God on high, who loves the unspotted life and who is ready to give every man power to lead a life without a stain. If there is any man here this afternoon who would like to have the living God give him power to lead a stainless life, will he stand up and say so?" And at once a student from the front seat cried out with a loud voice, "No, no." He did not want the power to lead a stainless life. He preferred the kind of a life that his religion sanctioned and allowed, and in some regards even enjoined.

And the meeting broke up after that, each man going to his own place. We live in the midst of a world seamed and stained and darkened with sin, from the East to the West, and from the North to the South of it, a world with an intense moral need, a desire so great that God Himself saw there was no other way to meet it than by the sacrifice of His own Son, whose blood cleanseth us from all sin, a desire in which the absence of wish enlarges the awfulness of want.

We live in a world of great religious desire and need. The most enlightened man of the most wonderful country in Asia, only a few years ago, when he was the Viceroy of the Province of Chi-li, and the Yellow River overflowed its banks, went with all of his retinue to kneel down in one of the large temples of the city, before a live snake, to entreat that the floods that had spread out over all their country might subside. That was Li Hung Chang. Intelligent man as he was, he was willing still, in obedience to what he believed were the popular claims of his religion, to bow down reverently before a snake as a god, to entreat the subsidence of the overflowing waters of the river. If one of the most intelligent men of the most intelligent race in Asia can thus prostitute himself in the name of his religion, how much of life and food can there be in his faith for the real spiritual wants and longings of men? The last thing that any Christian man wants to do is to judge uncharitably the non-Christian faiths. If there be one thing he wants to believe in more than anything else, it is that the God, who has not left Himself without a witness in any nation under the sun should have largely revealed Himself to the souls of His children in these non-Christian lands. I do not believe that any man, however strong these desires may be in his heart, can see the non-Christian faiths,

where they most perfectly express themselves, without coming back with all hope abandoned that in them or through them any way can be opened unto the Father of the spirits of men.

And these needs of the world cannot be met by the political institutions of the East. The most remarkable of them all are writing their doom before our eyes, even in these days, in China. There is not one of them that is not worse now than it was a generation ago, or ten generations ago, save as the influence of the West has come upon it and touched it. And they grow worse and worse. There is no hope for these peoples in the political institutions of the East.

The man must have a peculiar vision who sees any hope for them in the political institutions of the West. Mr. Julian Hawthorne wrote back from India to the *Cosmopolitan Magazine,* in his articles upon the famine conditions, that the white invasion had done India harm, so far as it had been colourless or merely political. It had done good only to the extent that it had been religious. And that was written of the most unselfish and helpful and Christian political institutions that have ever been transferred to Asia from the West. And when one turns from Great Britain's influence, and listens to the voice of Prince Henry, as he stands on the stage, shaking his mailed fist in the face of all creation, and preaching to Asia and the world the gospel of the consecrated person of the queer Emperor of Germany, one comes to feel more and more that there can be but little hope for these Eastern peoples in these political institutions of our Western lands. What is good in our political institutions save what flows from the outstretched hands upon the Cross; save what comes from His influence, who even now is gathering to Himself the ages past and

yet to be? All that is wholesome and helpful and healthful in our political life here, all that keeps the nations of the West and will keep them if they are to be kept and saved in coming years, is the influence of Christ. Everything in them apart from that would be but as the ashen apples of Lake Asphaltes, in the hands of the man who grasped it, thinking its form hid true substance. Our institutions do not save us. We are kept busy trying to save them. There is no hope for the Eastern nations in the political institutions of the West. They are not their desire.

Nor is there any hope for them in their own religious faiths. Bishop Graves soberly describes the condition of China as that of men not knowing God, men living under a faith, if it can be called a faith, that proclaims God not to be knowable. We know not our present life and this little world. How can we know of the unseen life and the unseen world? If in China, with all its mighty influences of sanity and sound judgment, working through these past years (and they have been grievously underestimated), men are still in ignorance of God, and hating the message of God when it comes, what can we expect of other lands? And as for Islam wherever it has gone, it has either found a desert or made one. It has spread its sterile influence over all life, chilling and deadening and killing it, as the sterile ice lies over all the polar world.

There are three elements in religion. There is the element of dependence, and there is the element of fellowship, and there is the element of progress. It must be confessed that almost every non-Christian religion supplies the element of dependence. Men are dreadfully afraid. All life is lived under the shadow of an unseen fear. But there is no religion in this

world that supplies either the element of fellowship or the element of progress save the religion of Him who came to teach men that they are the Father's children, and to kindle in their hearts the flames of the divine fire that is to burn brighter and brighter until the fullness of the perfect day.

The only hope that these Eastern peoples have, the only answer to their desire, is to be found in Him who is "The Desire of all Nations." He came precisely to meet these wants and needs of men. "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life," He said. "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me." "I am come to seek and to save that which was lost." "I am come not to condemn, but to save the world." "Other sheep I have which are not of this Jewish fold. Them also I must bring, that there may be one flock and one Shepherd."

To meet the wants of men God gave His only Son. And this work of meeting the desires of the nations Jesus Christ at once began. That was the fault that men found with Him. That was the ground of Celsus's complaint: "Let us hear," he said, "what kind of persons these Christians invite. Every one, they say, who is a sinner, who is devoid of understanding, who is a child, him will the Kingdom of God receive. They assert that God will receive the sinner." And often has this complaint been made against Christianity, that it was doing exactly what "The Desire of all Nations" came to do—to lift the burdens off the shoulders of the overborne, to open the eyes of the blind that they might see, to unstop the ears of the deaf that they might hear, to preach deliverance to the captives, and the opening of prisons to them that are bound.

And this same work of satisfying the desire of the nations, He who is the nations' Desire is doing now

in our own time. He is doing it on the broadest possible scale. By the influences of His gospel He is doing it in the renovation of national character. Underneath all the superficial influence of Great Britain's political institutions in India, He is building, and building, and building—changing more hostility into love for our institutions than is subsidized by the gift of Government appointment, or awed by the intimidation of standing armies. As to national character, "The Desire of all Nations" is converting the East. And in community after community He is lifting life up out of its old poverty and wickedness and want. Mohammedans must admit, as one of them said not long ago, in substance, in one of the villages of Eastern Persia, "I can always tell a Christian village from a Mohammedan village by the air of thrift, by the better wages, by the larger crops, by the better built houses, by the larger and more comfortable supply of furnishings that they contain." Wherever Christ's gospel goes in this world, it takes away physical want and need. He who promised that His blessing would be on His people does not hesitate to let that blessing fall upon them in the ways that are most visible to their eyes and most tangible in their life.

He is remodelling and refashioning the religious life and the moral character of men. I went once to a Chinese temple in the city of Pyeng-Yang, in Northern Korea. The grass had grown up between the stones, heavy bolts were thrust through all the locks of the doors, and we pounded in vain for a quarter of an hour or so before we aroused the sleeping keeper. We asked him what the closed doors of the temple meant. "Well," he said, "I can tell you, although I really don't have control of this place. I am just living here because this is a cheap place to lodge. The regular

keepers are all gone. Nobody comes here any more." We asked him why. He said. "This Christianity has come up here in Northern Korea. Everybody is mad after it, and nobody comes to this temple to worship any more." Wherever Christ in this world, as the nations' Desire, can have His way, His disciples working with Him and not frustrating His will by their disbelief, or their negligence, or their cold heartedness, or their lack of faith, He is meeting the wants of human hearts.

Consider these two: The world, with its desires, on one side; the Christ, with His supplies, on the other. Between them we of Christ's Church stand. To bring these two together is a duty that we owe to our own personal Christian life. The missionary enterprise would be necessary, if on no other account, simply as a vindication of our home Christianity. If my Christ is not so big that He can save the whole world, He is not big enough to save me. And if He is so big that He can save the whole world, and there be in my hand any power to help Him do it, I stultify my own faith, I deny my own discipleship, if I withhold from Him the co-operation that I can give.

We owe it to ourselves, as developing best what God intends for us in personal character. In 1823, in the city of Boston, there came into a little gathering of Baptist clergymen one evening a young man, unknown to the world, to preach a sermon that had been announced for that night, and that meeting. It was a stormy, rainy night, and as Wayland came in and took his place he said, "I have thrown away my labour on this sermon." But as he rose, he put into his sermon all the power of his Christ-touched soul. This was his theme—"The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise." Rowland Hill read that sermon and de-

clared that the young man who preached it had in him the power to remake men. The trustees of Brown University read that sermon and they said, "That is the man we want in this place." And Wayland began his almost unsurpassed work in Brown University because he had in that meeting felt himself, and made the hearts of those who heard him and read his sermon feel, the moral dignity of the missionary enterprise.

I make no apology for missions. I would as soon think of apologizing for the Creed that declares belief in the forgiveness of sins—not of my sins only, but also of the sins of the whole world. I would as soon apologize for the Lord's Prayer, "Thy Kingdom come." I would as soon apologize for the great commission and the Gospels in which it is found—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." I would as soon apologize for the wisdom of the Living God, who was in the Son whom He sent into the world to reconcile it unto Himself.

We owe it to ourselves to identify our life anew with this enterprise, which seemed to the Son of God so morally worthy that He could think of nothing better to which to give His own priceless life. We owe it to the thousand million sinning and suffering men, each one of them a brother. We stand before them with the Bread of Life in our hands, and we eat our morsel alone, while we leave them to die their death of starvation and want. We stand before them with the message that God is love in our hearts, and we let it die upon our lips, while they go down in their darkness, stumbling blindfold around His great altar stairs. How dare we meet them in the day when every man shall stand before the judgment seat of Christ, to give an account of the deeds done in the body, if we hold

back from these our brethren the message of the love and the life and the blood of our Lord and theirs?

And we owe it to Him Who is the nations' Desire. I say it reverently, if we live in the midst of an incomplete world, we are the disciples of an incomplete Christ. As truly as Christ is "The Desire of all Nations," are all the nations the desire of Christ. As truly as on the one side they stand waiting for Him, so as truly on the other side He stands waiting for them. The Kingdom is waiting for its King, and the King is waiting for His Kingdom.

Some years ago Keshub Chunder Sen, who only saw the Saviour from afar, and who touched but the hem of the Master's garment, declared, "None but Jesus, none but Jesus, none but Jesus is worthy to wear the diadem of India: and He shall have it." And if none but Jesus is worthy to wear the diadem of India, who but Jesus is worthy to wear the diadem of China, and of Japan, and of Africa and of the Islands of the Sea? Shall He have it? Let us go out and get it for Him! And when we have got it, let us lay it down upon His brow—the brow of "The Desire of all Nations"—and cover with its glory forever the scars of His crown of thorns!

XL

WHAT CHRIST HAS DONE FOR WOMAN

IT is a curious fact that all the music of the non-Christian world is in the minor. One of the strongest and strangest recollections which one brings back from Asia is the weird sadness of its music. Often one hears again the long-drawn strains of the camel-driver's song, the plaintive chant of a funeral or a wedding, or the sad songs of the little children playing in the village streets. It is a curious fact, and yet, if a people's music is expressive of a people's life, it ceases to be curious. The music of the non-Christian world is sad and dreary because the life of the non-Christian world is dreary and sad. In Dr. Smith's *Life of Henry Drummond*, we read among Professor Drummond's impressions of Africa, " I seem to myself to have been living in an atmosphere of death all the time."

Of course, over against this sadness there is pleasantness and jollity of life. I think wherever there are human hearts there will be some human love, and one cannot go around the world without seeing the faces of merry children, but all this only sets off more darkly the pathos and the dreariness of the heathen world. It will help us to appreciate better the privileges that we enjoy, if we can get some idea of what life would be bare of Christ, of all that Jesus Christ has brought to us consciously and unconsciously, of wealth and joy and blessing.

I suppose that, for one thing, the heathen world is such a sad and pathetic world because its life is so small. The life of its men is small, puny, dwarfed, but, deeply

as one sympathizes with the needs of his fellowmen, what I have to say here has reference chiefly to how a woman's need in a heathen land looks to a Christian man. If a heathen man's life is puny and dwarfed and small, a heathen woman's life is yet more cramped and narrow. Think what our lives would be if they were deprived of all intellectual stimulus from without. We are all largely dependent on the ideas gained from other people. Imagine life robbed of every printed and written word, robbed of all fresh information from without, robbed of every fresh suggestion and idea, and we will begin to have a faint conception of a heathen woman's life.

A friend of mine in Tungchow pointed out to me in Northern China the home of a woman who had told him that for thirty years she had not been out of sight of her front door. For thirty years her life had been bounded by the grey streets and the brown earth that were within sight of that simple little Chinese hovel. That life was only a type of the lives of hundreds of millions of women in this world, barren and empty of those things without which our life would scarcely be worth living; would be only like the life of beasts. Now you can imagine something of what Christianity means, coming into an empty, barren life like that. It comes, first of all, with a perfect flood of intellectual quickening and awakening. It teaches women that they may think.

I suppose that women who are sceptics never stop to think that their right to be sceptics comes from Christ. If Christ had not touched their life, they would not even have the privilege of denying God's claims upon their life and service. Throughout the non-Christian world, women think only when the hand of Christ has touched the springs of thought and

said to them, "Woman, I say unto you arise and think." Hundreds of times as many Christian women proportionately are able to read as non-Christian women. Over and over again in little gatherings of Christian women in Asia we would ask, "How many of you could read before you were Christians?" and scarcely a hand would be lifted. "How many of you can read now?" and almost every hand would be raised, sometimes even of old blind women, who had been obliged to learn to read with their fingers. The touch of Christ upon them had meant quickening of intellectual life. Christ comes into the lives of the women of the world, teaching them new dignity, giving them real human interests, assuring them that they are to walk side by side with men and that they are the daughters of the Father on high.

Of course Christianity means more to us than it does to these women, but most of us do not realize what it means as they do, as they look back to the old life, empty, vain, barren, poor, incoherent; and then on their present life so rich, so joined with God, so full of all His fellowship, so blessed with the multitude of blessings which are the commonplace of our life, and which we never think of as having been as much a direct gift of Jesus Christ to us as His own presence, or the play of His Spirit upon our hearts.

But the enlarging and enriching of our lives here is a small part of what Christianity does for us. I think the greater reason for the sadness and the pathos of the heathen world is the cruelty of its lovelessness. I am speaking not of the men of the world. We get into the way of speaking and thinking of this world as though it were a world of men, and we talk of the social problems of life as if they were masculine problems, and we speak of the needs of Asia as though

they were the needs of men. Almost everybody is talking of the Philippine problem, for example, as though it were simply a problem of what a few men desire. But we ought to think of what the women and the little children of the Philippines need and frame our judgment on the basis of what they require and should have. When one thinks of what Christ means to him, of all the sweetness of His fellowship, of all the wealth of His gifts, his heart must go out to the men of the world who do not have these blessings; but when he goes home in the evening and looks at wife and child, his heart must nearly break for the women and the children of the world, when he thinks of what Christ could mean to them, and of what we are holding back from them and denying to them.

If anybody should ask me to risk Christianity on one single cast, to stake everything on one argument, I sometimes think I should almost be willing to select, of all the positions of Christian apologetics, the attitude of Christianity towards women and children as over against the attitude of every other religion of the world towards woman and the little child. It was given to Buddha that in his candidacy for the Buddhaship three curses should never befall him in the great sweeping whirl of transmigration. He should never be born in hell, he should never be born as vermin, he should never be born as a woman. The founder of Buddhism was to be delivered from those three things—the foulest, most despicable conditions of life of which he could dream. One of the finest sights in Japan—the land where Buddhism should show itself at its best—is the way the Japanese look on a Christian man and a Christian woman coming out of a Christian church side by side;

the way they will nod to one another and speak of this strange sight not seen in Japan before Christ's gospel came, of a woman standing side by side with a man. The Japanese press is engaged from time to time in discussing the question of concubinage, and a great number of the Japanese papers, Buddhist or Shinto or liberal as they profess themselves to be, lay out all the energy they have at such times to defend the institution of concubinage. That is what Buddhism has done for woman.

Hinduism has done infinitely worse. The code of Manu, the highest religious authority among Hindus, says, "Women have no business with the text of the sacred book." A Brahman is to "suspend reading the Veda if a woman come in sight." "Though unobservant of approved usages," the code declares, "or enamoured of another woman, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must constantly be revered as a god by a virtuous wife." I do not wonder that Mr. Kipling could call the foundations of Hindu life —"rotten,—utterly and bestially rotten."

But worst of all is the condition of women under the latest of the world's religions. I think it is a judgment on Mohammedanism for having rejected women's Saviour that it has left woman in almost the worst case of all the non-Christian religions—a viler condition than she was in under the savage institutions of Arabia before Mohammedanism arose. Turn some time to an article that appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* several years ago, written by a woman from Constantinople, I think, entitled "A Voice from the Harem," in which she said: "The duty that man owes to his fellow creature is hardly ever mentioned in our religion. The very heaven of the Koran is a paradise conditioned upon the eternal degradation of

womanhood." I understand something about the position of women in Mohammedanism after having gone up and down through their villages. One autumn evening we stopped in a little Moslem village and spread out our cots for the night in one of the houses of the village. The old woman of the house stood in the door of the family room until at last my friend took from one of his travelling bags a counterpane with red and white squares and laid it over the top of his cot. The old empty-hearted woman stretched forth her hand and laid it gently over the great red and white squares. At last she looked up into his face with great admiration in her eyes, and asked him where he got that beautiful thing. He told her that his wife had made it for him, and she pointed to the room where the two ladies of our party were, and asked whether she was in there. "No," said my friend, "she is not in there." "Are they both his wives?" she said, pointing to me. "No," said my friend, "they are not. According to our religion men have but one wife each. We think it is a better system; more love in it. Home is sweeter. It isn't so in your religion, is it?" "No," said the old woman, "it isn't so with us." "How is it in this home?" said my friend. "Is there more than one wife here?" "No," said the woman, "there is only one now, but there will be another here next week." "What will be your life then?" said my friend. "What is your life now? happy?" "Ah, sahibs," said the woman—and the tears came out and stood upon her cheeks—"Ah, sahibs, our life is *hell!*"

Their life *is* hell. After having seen something of the weariness, and the agony, and the suffering of it, I can understand how a Moslem woman near the city of Hamadan, watching Mr. and Mrs. Hawkes,

missionaries there, as they tarried for a while in a village, and seeing all the courtesies that a Christian man paid to his wife, could seize an opportunity when she was alone to say to her, "Mrs. Hawkes, I have been watching you and your husband. We never saw anything like this in our town before. Your prophet did well for you Christian women. Our prophet did not do well for us. I am going to have words with our prophet when I meet him in the next world," and I understand how another could say, "I shall stand by the open gates of hell and watch the Mussulman men march in first." Miss Jewett, one of the missionaries in Persia, travelling through a Moslem town, stopped in a Moslem home. When the husband of the home had gone out, she turned to the head wife and said to her, "This is your home, isn't it?" "Yes," said the woman, "this is our home." "And that was your husband, wasn't it?" "Yes," said the woman, "that is my husband." "And you love him, I suppose," said Miss Jewett. "Oh, yes," said the woman, "I love him"—and she turned with passion in her eyes—"I love him; as much as a sieve holds water, I love him!" We little comprehend what Christ has brought into life, in love, in gentleness, in all that great range of courtesies without which the life of woman here would be just like the lives of five hundred million of her fellow women on the other side of the world.

Where there is no respect for women, what respect can there be for home? Can there be a home? Think of what our home means to us. There is scarcely a minute of the day when a true man does not think of what his home means to him, and every fresh thought of it helps him to understand anew what Jesus Christ has done for him and for those he loves, and what

waits to be done by Christ for a thousand million of our sinning and suffering fellow creatures. I once asked one leading Japanese Christian whether they had much family worship in their Christian homes in Japan. "Ah," he said, "you have put your finger just on the thing that will come last. 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' would not be possible in Japan; such a thing as that could not be conceived yet in all Japan." As yet there is none of that equality, none of that love, none of that gathering of father and mother and little children around the hearth side when the evening shadows are falling, to pray together and together to worship Him after whom every fatherhood is named, such as is the fruit of the long, long influence of Christ upon family life. Every Christian home is a missionary appeal. Even every home in this land that is a sweet home, though Christ be barred from its fellowship, is what it is because Christ has made it so and because His influence has touched life, teaching men and women what a home can be, and naming it after that home on high.

Even more than the woman and the home, the little child needs Christ. More than any other woe or want of the world stands out the pathetic need of the little child. Six years ago I stopped from a British India steamer at Muscat to visit Peter Zwemer who was working there alone, the signs of fever plain upon his face so that any man might read, but abiding still by his work. He took us up to the house where he was living, and into the room where he said his family would be found. There, sitting on little benches around the room, were eighteen little black boys. They had been rescued from a slave ship that had been coming up the Eastern coast of Arabia with these

little fellows, and other slaves to be sold on the date plantations along the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers. The British consul had gone out and seized them from the slavers, and had delivered them to Mr. Zwemer to keep until they were eighteen years of age, when they were to be given their manumission papers. They sat in the plain room, dressed in their brown khaki garments with their little red fezes on their heads, just as happy as the children of a king. "They were not so," said Mr. Zwemer, "when I got them. The eighteen of them huddled together in the middle of the floor just like rabbits, and every time I came close they huddled nearer together. They distrusted everyone. For months they had known nothing but abuse and cruelty, and had been shut down in the hold of the slave ship in order that they might not betray their presence." I saw on the cheek of each child a little mark about the size of a silver half-dollar on the cheekbone, and I asked Mr. Zwemer what that curious scar was. "Why," he said, "that is the brand of the slaver's iron. Every one of these little boys was burned that way." I understood something, standing in the presence of those eighteen little black boys with the brand of the slaver's iron on their cheeks, of what it was that nerved Wilberforce and Clarkson to endure ignominy and shame and social ostracism until at last they had stricken the shackles from the wrists of the last British slave and reinstated him in his rights as a man. There they were, those eighteen little fellows brought up from all over Africa, a symbol of what child life is when beyond the reach of the loving influence of Christ. They sang the child song that I think I have heard in a dozen different lands—almost all the little Christian children in the heathen world know how to sing it:—

"Jesus loves me—this I know,
For the Bible tells me so."

You cannot know how sweet it is until you hear it coming from the lips of little children the happiness of whose lives has come directly from that sweet transforming life of Jesus.

"Aye, sure the babe is in the cradle blest,
Since God Himself a Baby deigned to be,
And slept upon a mortal mother's breast,
And bathed in baby tears His deity."

Every time one thinks of the little children of the world and then of our little children here at home his heart must suffer for their sufferings, over the emptiness and the vanity and the hatreds, and the poverty of their life; and he must think also of that holy Child Jesus, the Father's little Son, who came down to make these little children and their lives as rich and fragrant and full of joy as the lives of our children here at home.

I wish I could say something that would make women sensible of what every woman owes to Christ. Everything that they have Christ gave them. Everything that they are that is worth being Christ has made them. Many are not Christians, or call themselves agnostics or sceptics. Many deny Jesus's deity. They have never been won and wooed by the sweetness of His tender and perfect humanity. Why will they not be honest, then? Why do they keep all that Christ has brought them, and yet remain unwilling to acknowledge that He gave it to them? If we are willing to receive from Christ's hands Christ's blessings, why will we be so dishonest, so false, as to hold

back from Christ the loyalty of life and service and love?

There is an Oriental story of a beggar who lay at a king's gate, and day by day received alms from the king's hand. One day the king came out from the gate and found that he had forgotten something, and he called to the beggar, "Beggar, run me this errand." The beggar looked haughtily up into the king's face and said, "Sire, I solicit alms; I do not run errands." Looking over Christian life, and over that great range of life that lies outside the honourable confession of Christ, how dishonourable, how ignoble, how unworthy are those of us who receive from Christ, so generous, so good, all the wealth of His gifts without being willing to yield back to Christ the little loyalty of our own hearts, the loving obedience of our own service.

I cannot refrain from saying one word to young women who are hesitating on the threshold of their life work. What is it to be as you look out upon it? An empty, aimless life? Life in some American town or some American city, in which you drop into the frivolous, commonplace, social existence of the town or the city without any great, worthy, consuming, absorbing passion? Is that to be your life? There are hundreds of young women of whom that is the life. You know hundreds. Is that to be your life? Christ did not give us life to spend in that way. Christ gave us life to pour out for Him. Christ gave us life to use for Him. Life is no tiny, petty bauble of that kind. Life is a great, worthy, holy and divine thing. Life is to be used as a sacred trust. Life is to be a cup, out of which thirsty men and women are to be given drink. Our lives are bread, by which hungry men and women are to be fed. We are in the world, like our Master, not to be ministered unto, but to minister,

and to give our lives as ransoms for many. Will we not do that? That is what life is given to us for.

What I have been saying here is all in the verse just quoted from Christ's own lips about ministry and sacrifice. And it is also, in a little Christmas verse by good Father Tabb. Perhaps that will bring it home to us and fix it in our hearts.

"A little boy of heavenly birth,
But far from home to-day,
Comes down to find His ball, the earth,
Which sin has cast away.
O comrades, let us one and all
Join in to get Him back His ball."

XLI

PRAYER AND MISSIONS

AMONG the Jews there has been a saying, "He prays not at all in whose prayers there is no mention of the kingdom of God," but the veil which remains untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament has hung like a pall over the living experience of this truth as well. And Jewish blindness finds its parallel in the Church's neglect of the voice which for centuries has been pleading, largely in vain, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest to thrust forth labourers into His harvest." Nineteen long centuries of waiting, during which His kingdom has not come, are alike the evidence and the result of the absence of real desire that the King and His kingdom should appear. Perhaps more so now than for years, and yet very little even to-day does the longing cry rise up, "Thy kingdom come," not only as an inner advent to hearts in Christendom, but over all the world. If the work of missions were purely a human enterprise, this neglect might be intelligible. But in a supernatural cause, resting on a supernatural charter, led on by an omnipotent Leader, with all His supernatural power pledged to its support on the conditions of consecration and prayer on the part of its human agents, a neglect of prayer is a denial of the Lord's leadership and a wilful limitation of success. For in all the missionary work of God, to take no wider ground—if there be any wider ground—all success and guidance are consequent only upon prayer.

It was so in the history of the early Church, whose development for years was almost wholly a story of

missionary progress, with every step christened and crowned by prayer. The first and the last recorded apostolic acts after the Ascension were prayers—the gathering in the upper chamber at Jerusalem, and John's cry from Patmos, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus!" The disciples did not first of all take up the pen to preserve the memories of that priceless Life, nor was the voice of the world's great need that had brought that Life to earth strong enough to call away their thoughts. First of all they sought the Lord's feet in prayer, and in the Pentecostal hour the first mighty flood of missionary power rolled over the missionary band, manifesting its character, its meaning, and its might in the converted thousands of that day. And not only did prayer secure the promised power, but it converted and equipped the workers in the mission cause. It was in the days that they all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, and after direct request for guidance, that Matthias was chosen to fill the place of him who was guide to them that took Jesus. The seven deacons; Barnabas and Saul, after their separation to foreign service by the Holy Ghost; the elders chosen at the close of their first missionary journey—none of these ventured over the threshold of their work without the preparation of prayer. And it was in prayer that new departures were taken. Cornelius at Cesarea, and Simon Peter upon the house-top of Joppa, caught in prayer the commands that opened the door of faith to the Gentiles. Prayer formally marked the inception of the first missionary tour, as it had brought the impulse of his life to the first great missionary. "And it came to pass that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance * * * and He said unto me, depart, for I will send thee far

hence unto the Gentiles." And lastly it was to prayer that in time of need those early workers invariably resorted. Peter kneels down by the death-bed of Dorcas, when he would have the knowledge of the gospel's power, already declared at the beautiful gate of the temple in Jerusalem, revealed at Joppa, by a manifest resurrection from the dead. Prayer, made without ceasing of the Church unto God for Peter, opens Herod's dungeon doors and sets the apostle free. The Philippian prison shakes, the doors hang ajar, the prisoners' bonds burst asunder amid the midnight prayers of Silas and Paul. And on the last page of the record, Publius's father's bloody flux departs in prayer. With everything thus begun, continued, and ended in prayer; marking every emergency, guiding every progressive step, animating every act of wider obedience, is it any wonder that when the flames of missionary zeal and success sank away, it was because the fires of prayer had died low on the altars of devotion? Is there any other reason than this for the reiterated plea in the Epistles of Paul, that the churches he had founded would labour together with him in prayer for the prosperity of the gospel with them and with him and in all the world? The first two things in the early Church were prayer and missions, and the deepest alliance in the early Church was between missions and prayer.

And not only so, but whenever in subsequent centuries the Church has caught something of the spirit of those early days it has been manifested in a new devotion to missions and a revival of prayer. It must necessarily be so, for His spirit is a spirit of service and communion, of missions and prayer. And communion without service is a dream, and service without communion, ashes. It is only, therefore, in ac-

cordance with a very general truth that we trace the foundation of our present missionary organizations to times of revival, which were also times of awakened prayer. Almost the first breathings of the modern missionary period were in 1723, when Robert Millar, Presbyterian minister in Paisley, published *The History of the Propagation of Christianity and the Overthrow of Paganism,* in which he powerfully urged prayer as the first of nine means for "the conversion of the heathen world." In October, 1744, after some of the famous revivals of 1742, in the West country, a band of nineteen united in what they called "a concert to promote more abundant application to a duty that is perpetually binding—prayer that our God's kingdom may come, joined with praises." In 1784, at a periodical meeting of the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist Ministers on motion of John Sutcliff, a plan drawn up by John Ryland, Jr., was addressed to the churches, which urged, among other things, "Let the whole interest of the Redeemer be affectionately remembered, and the spread of the gospel to the most distant parts of the habitable globe be the object of your most fervent requests." On this occasion Andrew Fuller preached his first printed sermon on "Walking by Faith." Two years afterward William Carey was baptized in the Nen by the same John Ryland, and ordained by Andrew Fuller to the ministry at Moulton village. It was out of all this prayer and revival that Carey and his little band of Baptist ministers addressed themselves to the task of evangelizing the world. Further still, the London Missionary Society was founded in 1795, for non-Baptist churches, as the direct result of William Carey's work, and was itself conceived by Dr. Bogue and Mr. Stephens and founded in prayer.

Long before this, even in 1732, as the result of four years' prayer, the first Moravian missionaries went out from Herrnhut. And lastly, in 1806, a year full of missionary impulse, in answer to prayer, came the famous prayer-meeting in the shadow of Greylock, of which Dr. Griffin, a president of Williams College, said: "I have been in situations to know that from the councils formed in that sacred conclave or from the mind of Mills himself, arose the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, and the African School under the care of the Synod of New York and New Jersey, besides all the impetus given to domestic missions, to the Colonization Society, and to the general cause of benevolence in both hemispheres."

And not only has prayer played the supreme part in the formation of missionary agencies, but it has been at the bottom of all revivals in missionary work. The upheaval in the training-school at Kyoto, Japan, March 16, 1883, whose influence has, perhaps, shaped the whole subsequent Christian development of Japan, the out-poured floods in the Lone Star Mission among the Telegus, the movement among the Mahrattas in India on the first Monday in January, 1833, the incidents of 1846 in Miss Fiske's school at Urumia, the work of Michaelis of the Gossner Society in Java, and the revival wave that swept over Turkey in 1888—all these had no sufficient explanation save that supplied by the power of definite and believing prayer.

And we may go a step further than this, and assert that through men who knew how to pray has every new departure and development of missions, which has borne in any real sense the marks of God's leading, been effected. First of all, the occupation of new fields. It was the potency of

prayer as much as of cannon that demolished to dust the walls of Chinese seclusion. The beginning of the great work in Japan was traced to a little room where the missionaries met every day to pray. In 1770, seven years after the death of Frederick Boemisch, the first of the missionary triumvirate which had gone to Greenland to uphold the hands of Egede, John Beck wrote to Matthew Stach, recalling the history of their early life's work. "We three it was," he says, "who made that solemn vow, one with another, wholly to follow our Lord in this land. How many times we besought Him, with weeping, to grant us one soul of this nation. But He stopped not at one. These congregations which we have seen grow up from the beginning, how far do they exceed all our early prayers!" Allen Gardiner transfigured the initial steps of the work in Terra del Fuego with prayer. There is a paper written by him on his birthday, in which he says: "I pray that Thou wouldst graciously prepare a way for the entrance of Thy servants among the poor heathen of these islands, * * * and should we even languish and die here, I beseech Thee to raise up others and to send forth labourers into this harvest." The translations of the Bible, which have gone on their errand, under God's blessing, have been made by men who knew how—to borrow Neesima's phrase—to advance upon their knees.

Of course it has ever been through prayer that the missionaries have been secured, and it was thither, consequently, that Bishop Patteson resorted when he set apart George Sarawia, praying that "he might be but the first of a goodly band of Melanesian clergymen to carry the gospel to their people." This was the only source of missionary supply recognized by Christ —"Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest to

thrust forth labourers in His harvest." And seeking them in any way which neglects the unceasing search of prayer is not the Lord's way. The first woman ever sent from America as a medical missionary declared her departure for the lightless lands to be the result of her early pastor's prayers. The day appointed by the Church Missionary Society in 1885 to pray for workers was anticipated, even the evening before the formal meeting, by one hundred university graduates, who dedicated themselves to the foreign missionary work, and declared themselves ready to go when their studies were completed. Before they called He answered, and while they were yet speaking He heard. God alone knows how, replying to prayer, He sent out the hundred workers asked by the China Inland Mission in 1887. David Temple and William Goodell went out to the foreign field from a little group of half a dozen who met for prayer around an old tree stump at Andover, eighty years ago. And if a clearer indication than these is needed of God's way of leading out His workers, it is found in the words of Paton's parents to their son as he was deciding the question of his duty to the heathen, "When you were given to us, we laid you upon the altar, our first born, to be consecrated, if God saw fit, as a missionary of the Cross; and it has been our constant prayer that you might be prepared, qualified, and led to this very decision." If the Church must resort chiefly to prayer for the missionary workers, workers and Church must labour together in prayer for the desired conversions; and foreign work as a rule has been less fruitful in such results where the Church has least lavished her prayers.

Only the great cloud of witnesses who have been familiar with all the trials of God's missionaries from

the day Paul was cast out for dead at Lystra to the sufferings caused by the last Chinese uprising, know how many lives have been saved, how many dangers have been avoided, how many perils passed on the highway of prayer. The deliverances of 1839 in the Turkish Empire, and the preservation of faith among the fagots and flames of persecution at Uganda, were alike advantages brought to the kingdom of God by prayer. There is no other way than this to fill the treasuries of mission boards and supply the means for an immensely widened work in the foreign field. Nor is this merely a Christian truth which no experience has ever proved. Pastor Gossner sent out into the foreign field 144 missionaries. Besides providing outfit and passage, he had never less than twenty missionaries dependent directly upon him for support. How he carried on this and his other Christian work, a sentence from the funeral address read over his grave will explain: "He prayed up the walls of a hospital and the hearts of the nurses; he prayed mission stations into being and missionaries into faith; he prayed open the hearts of the rich, and gold from the most distant lands." "When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing." It is the voice of Him to whom belong the silver and the gold, and the cattle on a thousand hills.

The first thing in the life of the convert must be prayer. The mission that is not a training-school of prayer may accomplish much in civilizing and enlightening, but it will be little of a spiritual power in its land. Nothing but the intimacy of communion and the answering strength involved in taking tuition under Him who is to teach men to pray will ever hold the missionary convert in the midst of overwhelming

temptations, or make him for God a man of spiritual power. Things were only, as in God's way they must be, when in the revivals of 1872, in Japan, students in the schools of Japan, and in the colleges of prayer, so besought God with tears in one of the meetings at Yokohama, that He would pour out His spirit on Japan as at Pentecost, that captains of men-of-war, English and American, who were present remarked, "The prayers of these Japanese, take the hearts out of us," and the first Japanese congregation of eleven converts sprang out of those prayers; or when the prime minister of the bloody queen of Madagascar, endeavouring to enforce her terrible edicts against the Christians, was confronted by his own nephew's declaration, "I am a Christian, and if you will you may put me to death, for I must pray."

Even more clearly can this alliance of prayer and missions be traced in the lives of individual missionaries. It may not be possible to judge of outward success; it is possible to know the measure of inward fidelity from the place which prayer occupies in the missionary's life, and yet, "I do desire to say, gravely and earnestly," says a missionary of the American Board, "that my missionary life has been successful so far as I have been prayerful, and non-successful so far as in prayerfulness I have been lax." Foremost among these prayer-souled men of missions stands David Brainerd. In his diary he writes: "God enabled me so to agonize in prayer that I was quite wet with perspiration, though in the shade and in the cool wind. My soul was drawn out very much from the world for multitudes of souls." And in 1747 he left a dying injunction for his beloved Christian Indians that at the monthly missionary concert, which the year before had been recommended from Scotland,

they should pray for "the conversion of the world." Such a man was John Hunt, with his death bed cry: "Oh, let me pray for Fiji! Lord, save Fiji!" and Adoniram Judson, whose only testimony, after a long life of deep experience, was, "I never was deeply interested in any object, I never prayed sincerely and earnestly for anything, but it came at some time—no matter how distant the day—somehow, in some shape, probably the last I should have devised—it came!" Dr. Goodell's appeal, "Let it be known, too, that more, apparently, can be done now by prayer than in any other way. Whoever prays most, helps most" was only an expression of his own life. It was by prayer that Paton was led into the missionary service; by prayer he won the hearts of degraded men; by prayer he dug wells and found fresh water where others found none or salt; by prayer he checked the hand of the assassin; by prayer he locked the jaws of violence; we may be sure that it will be in the hush of prayer that he will fall asleep. From no other source than this could Mackay ever have gained strength for the life of unwearied, unmeasured usefulness he laid down at Uganda. Regarding his prayer, his companion, Ashe, says: "Mackay's prayer was very childlike, full of simple trust and supplication. Very humble, very meek, very childlike, he was on his knees before God." How much David Livingstone prayed may be inferred from brief glimpses, here and there in his journals, into the holy place in his life. He records on April 29, 1866, an answer to some prayers of his for influence on the minds of the heathen. He began different years of his diaries with a prayer. Thus, Jan. 1, 1868, "Almighty Father, forgive the sins of the past year for Thy Son's sake. Help me to be more profitable during this year. If I am to die this year, prepare me for it."

He wrote prayers on his birthdays, too, as March 19, 1872, the next to the last of his birthdays. "My Jesus, my King, my Life, my All, I again dedicate my whole self to Thee. Accept me and grant, oh, gracious Father, that ere this year is gone I may finish my task. In Jesus's name I ask it. Amen. So let it be. David Livingstone." And on the last birthday of all, "Let not Satan prevail over me, oh, my good Lord Jesus!" And when the worn and wasted figure was found dead, it was in the attitude of prayer. Even in that last hour he had knelt down by his bedside at Ilala to commend, with one dying effort, the world's open sore to the Redeemer of the oppressed and the Saviour of the lost. There are more martyrs than those who have poured out their blood or burned at the stake for Christ and His Church. They, too, are martyrs who have poured out their lives in service and their souls in the agony of prayer that the Son of God and His kingdom may come. And as Sabbath by Sabbath a great branch of the Church sings those glorious words, "The noble army of martyrs, praise Thee," it is simply the confident assertion that those who served Him here in the ministry of toil and also in the ministry of prayer have taken up the ministry of praise and of prayer in the land where His servants shall still serve Him.

The connection between prayer and missions has been traced thus over the whole field of missionary conditions, simply to show that every element in the missionary problem of to-day depends for its solution chiefly upon prayer. The assertion has been frequently made in past years, that with 20,000 men, properly qualified and distributed, the world could be evangelized in thirty years. And actually there is need of an immediate undaunted effort to secure 20,000 men.

Neither, perhaps, can the world be evangelized without them, nor can they be secured without effort. But it is hopeless to endeavour to obtain them, and they will be worthless if obtained, unless the whole effort be inspired and permeated with prayer. "Thrust Thou forth Thy labourers into the harvest." Or with the world open and men offering, and treasuries depleted, the missionary agents of the Church may sometimes feel that the great need is a consecration of wealth to the world-wide service of Christ; and surely He does still plead that the tithes be brought into the store-house and His readiness to pour out a blessing tested therewith, but money is not the great need. The evangelization of the world in this generation depends first of all upon a revival of prayer. Deeper than the need for men; deeper, far, than the need for money; deep down at the bottom of our spiritless life is the need for the forgotten secret of prevailing, world-wide prayer. Missions have progressed slowly abroad, because piety and prayer have been shallow at home. "When I shall see Christians all over the world," said John Foster, "resolved to prove what shall be the efficacy of prayer for the conversion of the world, I shall begin to think that the millennium is at the door." The condition and consequence of such prayers as this is a new outpouring of the Holy Ghost. Nothing short of His own suggestion will prompt the necessary prayer to bring Him back again in power. Nothing short of His new outpouring will ever solve the missionary problems of our day. The first call ever sent out for the annual week of prayer came from the mission field, and was designed to unite the whole Christian world in earnest prayer for the promised outpouring of the Spirit upon all nations; and yet, year by year the idea has been

practically ignored, so that on one occasion the advance call contained no allusion to the Holy Spirit at all. There has been in our own day more than one unconscious manifestation of the same spirit which more than a century and a half ago, when the King of Denmark issued a letter ordering a petition for missions in India and Denmark to be introduced into the church prayers, quickly found expression in hostility and disobedience.

Considering the fearful consequences of it all, something like criminal negligence has marked for years the attitude of the Church toward the matchless power of prayer for the world. Shall it be so longer or shall a change come over the Church? It will not avail to pass resolutions and form prayer alliances. For generations great calls have been issued, leagues have been proposed, emotions have been aroused, and yet the days continue as they were; the kingdom of God moves faster, but slowly still, and prayer is an echo on men's lips rather than a passion from their hearts. But if fifty men of our generation will enter the holy place of prayer, and become, henceforth, men whose hearts God has touched with the prayer-passion, the history of His Church will be changed.

By the wicked neglect of a life that misses the first things in prayer, and that never strains the heart-strings of its devotion over the world, shall we virtually beseech Him: "Let not Thy Kingdom come; stop the Macedonian cry; close the doors of access to the heathen: bind up the purse strings of the Church and palsy the feet of missionaries upon the threshold; let the world's millions go on to death?" or, in lives that linger ceaselessly before the Lord, shall we pour out our souls in John Milton's sublime prayer: "The times and seasons pass along under Thy feet and

go and come at Thy bidding; and as Thou didst dignify our father's days with many revelations above all the foregoing ages since Thou tookest the flesh, so Thou canst vouchsafe to us, though unworthy, as large a portion of Thy Spirit as Thou pleasest; for who shall prejudice Thy all-governing will? seeing the power of Thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times, as bold and faithless men imagine, but Thy kingdom is now at hand, and Thou standing at the door. Come forth out of Thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth; put on the visible robes of Thy imperial majesty; take up that unlimited sceptre which Thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed Thee: for now the voice of Thy Bride calls Thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed." Of far greater service than any array of learning or gifts of eloquence; more to be desired than gold and fine gold; more to be sought than a great name, or apparent opportunities for large usefulness; of deeper significance than high intellectual attainment, or power of popular influence, is this gift—may God give it to each one of us!—the secret and sweetness of unceasing, prevailing, triumphant prayer for the coming of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ.

XLII

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND MISSIONS

BEFORE our Lord went away, He told His disciples, crushed at the thought of His departure, that it was best that He should leave them—best for Himself, best for them, best for the world—that, unless He went away, the Holy Spirit should not come; but that if He went, the Holy Spirit would be sent to remind them constantly of Him, to enable them to see His beauty as they had never seen it when they had walked with Him by the hills and running brooks of Palestine, to bring back to their recollection constantly the things that He had said, to guide them in all their ways, to equip them for all their work and to send them out in His Name unto the uttermost parts of the earth. We must wish—I presume we have wished—that our Lord had never gone, that we could have Him with us still. Our yearning for the day when the Eastern skies shall glow with the promise of His coming, is only the proof of our inner desire that between Him and us there should be no separation at all. He told us Himself that it was better that He should go; and that in His stead we should be controlled and guided here by the Holy Spirit, who would be sent. There can be then, surely, no more important subject for our study—not even, the subject of prayer and missions,—than the relationship between the Holy Ghost, whom Jesus Christ sent, and this enterprise in which we are engaged.

Historically, there has been no closer relationship. Even as our Lord promised, as the disciples tarried in Jerusalem, waiting until the day of Pentecost was

fully come, and were all together in one place, there was suddenly "the sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues, divided asunder like as of fire; and it abode upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost." Constrained of Him, bound by Him, led of Him in all their enterprise, they went out, in the name of Jesus Christ their Lord, to preach His Gospel to every creature under heaven. As Dr. A. J. Gordon said, "Whenever, in any period of the Chinese history a little company has sprung up so surrendered to the Spirit, and so filled with His presence as to furnish the pliant instruments of His will, then a new Pentecost has dawned in Christendom; and, as a consequence, the Great Commission has been republished, and following a fresh tarrying in Jerusalem, for the endowment of power, has been a fresh witnessing for Christ from Jerusalem unto the uttermost parts of the earth."

In principle it must be so. This enterprise in which we have engaged is a spiritual one; it contemplates a spiritual end. We believe that there is no other way to bless the homes of men, that there is no other way to cleanse the states of men, than by the gospel of Christ. But we contemplate in this enterprise, the same purpose which thrilled the heart of Christ. We go out, as He came that man may have life and may have it more abundantly. The methods of our work are spiritual methods. "Not by an army, nor by power"—social, political or financial—"but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." The motives of the enterprise are spiritual. We seek no wealth or fame; we desire no reputation or earthly power. We are constrained only by the love of Christ. When, therefore, we look backward over the history of Christ's

Church we are shown that no relationship can be closer than that which ties this enterprise of the world's evangelization to the living Spirit of the loving God.

Who but the Holy Spirit can reveal to the Church her real missionary character? We believe that evangelization is the primary duty of the Church. We believe as a noble old writer of the Church of England declared in a generation that has passed away, that "the Christian Church is a Society, a Brotherhood, a Fellowship. The very charter of its incorporation contains a command for its extension. The very end of its existence is the conversion of the whole world to communion with itself. Christianity is the world's leaven; it is a growing light, it is a diffusive love; and every member of the Christian Church is called to be a herald and a preacher of its faith. The love of Christ constrains him; that with which he is baptized is as fire, and will burn, and burning it will enlighten and inflame. A man who has felt the blessing of the gospel in his own soul cannot but be anxious to impart it to his brethren. In every Christian heart, be assured, Christianity will find a new missionary, and, if need be, a new martyr." We believe with Fleming Stevenson: "If the Word of God does not merely contain here and there a missionary chapter, or the music of a missionary psalm, or some clear word of prophecy, or more clear and commanding word of Christ, but is throughout an intensely missionary book, the missionary spirit being of the very essence of its revelation; if it is a book that responds, with the sensitiveness of a divine sympathy, to the cry of the lost but seeking spirit, to the burdened sigh of pagan Asia, as well as to the anguish of those that doubt and yearn in Europe and America; if it is a book that proclaims, with every one of its tongues of fire, that there is a Kingdom of

God to grow out from it, instinct with its own spirit, a kingdom of living men in whom its revelation will be seen in action, by whom its sympathy and its offer of life and rest will be borne to every nation, in whom the great hunger for the redemption of the world has struck so deep that every one who is of that kingdom must hunger with the same intensity and look out on the world with the very eyes of Christ, and see, not in dreams and fancies of the poets, but by faith—faith which is no dreamer, but real and practical, carving swiftly the way to its own end—see, by faith, the march of the peoples back to God, the idols flung aside, and the cry of all—

> "Nothing in my hand I bring,
> Simply to Thy cross I cling";

if that is the idea of the Kingdom of God, then even our noble missionary societies are not the adequate expression of this enterprise of Christian missions, but are only preparatory; and the conception of a missionary society we are to keep before us is of the Church herself, as broad as the Church, as manifold as her gifts, as numerous as her membership, and as much clothed as she can claim to be with power from on high. That in theory is the position that has been taken by the great body of the Church of Christ; and what I plead for is nothing more than that this theory should be wrought into practice. Christian people have yet to feel that it is their own cause, and the most sacred and lofty cause for which they ever fought.

"The mission is not an organ of the Church, but the Church is the organ of the mission, divinely appointed, divinely endowed, divinely dwelt in. The Church has been consecrated to this work by its

Master; and when the consecration is accepted, penetrating not only into assemblies and councils, but into every little group of Christian people—penetrating like a fire that burns into men's souls and then leaps out in flames of impulse and passionate surrender, we shall see the mission as Christ would have it be. The story of it, and the pitiful wail of Christless men as they grope in their millions round the great altar-stairs for God—and more pitiful still if they are so blind as not to feel their blindness—will be poured from every pulpit; it will be the burden of daily prayer in every Christian home; every one will study for himself, as Canon Westcott recommended the other day, the annals of the present conquests of the Cross; the children will grow up, believing that this is the aim for which they are to live, and Churches will meet to plan their great campaigns and send out the best and ablest men they have to take part in this war of love."

If we believe that the Christian Church is this, who taught us this belief but the Spirit of God? Who but the Spirit of God was in Jesus Christ, speaking of other sheep not of the Jewish fold, and fixing the eyes of His disciples upon the outermost of the nations? Who but the Spirit of God can now lift the Church out of narrowness and selfishness into the vision of her world-wide destiny, as it lay in the heart of Christ.

If, on the one side, the Holy Spirit alone can convince the Church of her missionary character, the Holy Spirit alone can prepare the world for the Church's mission. "The spirit and the Bride say 'come'"—not the Spirit only, nor the Church only. Side by side with the Church's voice, calling the nations to their true King, the Holy Spirit Himself has been speaking, unsealing the closed doors, preparing the needy hearts,

and fitting the world to receive salvation through the Church's witness to the life and death of Jesus Christ our Lord and the world's Lord.

Consider the way in which, in all the nations of the earth the Holy Spirit has thus gone in advance of the missionary enterprise. Missionaries tell of African tribes in which the Redeemer has been described to the hearts of men before missionaries came near them. Adoniram Judson, going out in the year 1812, with his heart burning for the people of India, was turned back first of all from Calcutta through the instructions which had just been issued by the Earl of Minto, to the effect that the British in India could not tolerate any interference with the religion of the people, and that the missionaries in Seringapatam should cease from attempting, by printing pamphlets, to lead the people away from their ancient faith. Judson went back to the Isle of France for a little respite, and then made another attempt to land at Madras, only to be again turned away. Back he came to Moulmein, and was then led of the Spirit of God to the Karens, a people prepared for the Gospel by the tradition handed down through generations that white teachers would come to tell of the Book of God. Consider the way within our own memory the Spirit of God opened the doors of Korea, with His missionaries standing at the threshold waiting to go in. Think of Barnabas Shaw making thirty days' journey from the Cape into the heart of Africa, to be greeted by a deputation of Hottentots, led by the Divine Spirit, seeking a man of God to preach to them.

All over the world, the Spirit has ever moved on the hearts of Christian men inclining them to turn to where prepared hearts awaited them and preparing them for the prepared hearts. Dr. Griffith John, of Hankow, tells

how it had been laid upon his heart once to pray for the baptism of the Holy Ghost: "Feeling my lack of spiritual power, I spent the whole of Saturday in an earnest prayer for a baptism of the Holy Ghost. On the following morning I preached on the subject. At the close of the service I proposed that we should meet for an hour every day of the ensuing week to pray for a baptism of the Holy Ghost. From fifty to seventy of the converts met day by day, and confessing their sins pleaded with tears for an outpouring of the Spirit of God. The native Church at Hankow received an impulse, the force of which continues to this day. The Holy Ghost became a mighty reality to many. Where once other things were preached, Christ and His power became a living reality." Whether we look at the Church or at the world, the Spirit of God alone can equip the one and prepare the other; and the Spirit of God can alone put the prepared Church into the prepared world.

Only the Spirit of God can lift the churches out of their worldliness out of their selfishness, out of their self-indulgence, into such a vision of life and service as was displayed by Him, who though He was on an equality with God, counted not that equality a prize to be jealously retained, but made Himself of no reputation took on Him the form of a servant, and became obedient unto death. The lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, that are not of the Father, but of the world, are marvellously seductive in their appeal; and only that Spirit who counted every drop that fell from the brow of Christ as dearer than all the jewelled gates of Paradise, and who so esteems all sacrifice, can lift the Church out of her appreciation of the world—into an appreciation of the world as it appeals to the heart of God.

Only the Spirit of God can give to the hearts of men a covetousness after the example of Christ that shall make them desirous of walking in His steps. Think of David Brainerd kneeling down under the trees by the banks of the Delaware, damp with the perspiration of his prayers, while the chill winter winds whistled through the forest above him, crying out in his loneliness, "Here am I, Lord, send me; send me to the ends of the earth; send me to the rough and savage pagans of the wilderness; send me from all that is called comfort in the earth; send me even to death itself; if it be but in Thy service, and to promote Thy kingdom." Think of Raymond Lull, the first great missionary to the Mohammedans, more than six centuries ago, hearing the voice of Christ, by the Spirit, calling him from a life of dissipation and sin, lifting his eyes to the face of the Crucified, and saying, "To Thee, O Lord God, I offer myself, my children, and all that I possess. May it please Thee who did so humble Thyself to the death of the cross to condescend to accept all that I give Thee, that I, and my wife and my children, may be Thy lowly servants." Think of Mirza Ibrahim going out from home to preach Christ to his fellow Moslems, and dying under abuse in the Persian prison of Tabriz. Think of Lough Fook, the Chinese Christian, who, in order to reach his coolie countrymen, sold himself into slavery in the mines of South America, and gave his life to preaching the gospel to his enslaved people, walking in the footsteps of Him who, though He was free, took upon Himself the form of a slave. I say that nothing but the Spirit of God in Christ which led Him to stoop to the death of the cross, will lift the men and women of the Christian Church into a life of compassion and sacrifice like Christ's.

Nothing but the Spirit of God will teach the hearts of men that every Christian has a call to missionary service. Every man who has named the name of Christ, is under bonds to pass Christ on to the world. I would recall the words of the old English divine whom I quoted a moment ago:

"And the way in which the gospel would seem to be intended to be alike preserved and perpetuated on earth is not by its being jealously guarded by a chosen Order and cautiously communicated to a precious Few, but by being so widely scattered and so thickly sown that it shall be impossible, from the very extent of its spreading merely, to be rooted up. It was designed to be not as a Perpetual Fire in the Temple, to be tended with jealous assiduity and to be fed only with special oil; but rather as a shining and burning Light, to be set up on every hill, which should blaze the broader and the brighter in the breeze, and go on so spreading over the surrounding territory as that nothing of this world should ever be able to extinguish or to conceal it.

"And the office of teaching and preaching the gospel belongs to men, not to a Book, to the Church emphatically, though not to the clergy only, but to every member of it, for a dispensation of the gospel is committed to every Christian and woe unto him if he preach not the gospel."

And how shall a man ever learn that God has called him personally to missionary service, save as the Spirit of God makes it plain to his heart? The way in which the revelation of God's call to us shall be made plain and the time of its coming—these are secondary and unimportant in comparison with the great truth that the Spirit of the living God is pressing upon the heart of the Church—that we are all bound in obedience

to the command of Christ, not to His apostles only, but to all His friends, to carry the message of His world-wide love to every soul for whom He died. God may call a man before He sees the light of day, as He called the Apostle Paul while he was still in his mother's womb. He may make this call known in strange or in insignificant ways. He may work in long and obscure lines of influence. The essential thing is that by the Spirit of God a man should gain the irresistible sense that the general duty of the Church is his personal duty.

What I have written has been leading up to the one thing I wish to say with chief emphasis. The Holy Spirit's relationship to this missionary enterprise is most vital, because He alone can secure for Jesus Christ that place which He must have, if the work is ever to be done. We sometimes fall into the way of dissevering the work of the Holy Spirit from Christ. The Holy Ghost did not come to glorify Himself. "When He is come," said Jesus, "He shall not speak of Himself, but He shall testify of Me. He shall bring to your recollection the things that I have said." The whole purpose of the Spirit's work is to glorify Jesus Christ and to secure for Christ, in the hearts of men, the place that Christ must have—to quote those fine words of St. Paul—"that in all things He may have the pre-eminence." He is to have the pre-eminence in obedience, that we may count everything cheap in comparison with complete compliance with His command; the pre-eminence in love, that our hearts may go out to Him in full passion. We need a great, passionate devotion to Christ. Our standards of conventional respectability bind us in such enslavement, that we forget to be warm towards Christ. The Holy Spirit is needed in this work, to secure for Christ a

revival of that old medieval tenderness for Him which made men conceive of Him as a very Lover of their souls. The familiar legend was that St. Francis of Assisi bore, at last, in his body, the very marks of Christ. Why should he not? Why should not men have a longing after Christ, so life-engulfing that they should bear about in their bodies the very marks of Christ and wear upon their faces the radiance of His beauty?

Why should there not still be a passion for Christ, so real, so full, so life-controlling that we should count all things but dross, so that we might win Him and completely please Him? Nothing but such a passion for Christ will ever give men the passion for souls which they must have, if the world is to be won. Do you think we can evangelize the world in this generation except with such a love for the hearts of men, as that which made Jesus Christ willing, though He was rich, for our sakes to become poor, made Him willing to stoop from His seat at God's right hand, even to the shame and the cruelty of Calvary?

When Adoniram Judson took up his work among the Karens in Burmah and saw the magnificent opportunities there, the possibilities beyond all words, and felt how hampered he was, almost abandoned by the American churches, he wrote back a plea to them. We may not all frame our desires in Judson's words, but we could frame our lives in Judson's spirit:

"May God forgive all those who desert us in our extremity. May He save them all. But surely, if any sin will lie with crushing weight on the trembling, shrinking soul, when grim death draws near; if any sin will clothe the face of the final Judge with an angry frown, withering up the last hope of the condemned, in irremediable everlasting despair, it is the sin of

turning a deaf ear to the plaintive cry of ten millions of immortal beings, who, by their darkness and misery, cry, day and night, 'Come to our rescue, ye bright sons and daughters of America, come and save us, for we are sinking into hell.'"

What but the Spirit of God can kindle in our hearts a love for the souls of men, such as this or as filled the heart of St. Paul when he was willing for his brethren's sake, to be accursed from Christ?

"Oh to save these! to perish for their saving,
Die for their life, be offered for them all!"

Why should we not be offered for them all? Men are offered for other things. Is it to be expected as the natural thing that, in the building of railways in Africa, human lives should be laid down in sacrifice without reserve, but be denied to Jesus Christ? The Holy Spirit is the spirit of holiness, of wholeness of devotion. When He controls the will of those whose life has come wholly from Himself they will be ready to yield themselves with contempt for the cost, to His ministry of world redemption. And they will not do it until then. The missionary enterprise waits for the day when the Holy Spirit shall pervade and dominate the Church of Christ, and the Holy Spirit waits for the day when the Church shall be willing.

XLIII

RESOURCES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH*

THE history of the world is in a real sense just the story of the widening sovereignty of man. On any theory of his origin, he began quite simply; the centuries have watched the gradual but uninterrupted expansion of his power. It is as though God Himself had felt an increasing trust in man and had attested the increase of His trust by increasing man's power, by admitting him, so to speak, to a fellowship in the divine might and authority. That may seem a bold way of putting it, but there is a saying of our Lord's which justifies it; and it is evidenced enough by the obvious fact of history that this increase of power has been in the hands of the nations which believe in God and in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, our Lord.

I am not concerned, however, to speak of the historical significance of the immense resources of the Christian nations. We are to consider their prophetic significance; not how it came about that the Christian powers possess these resources, but why do they possess them to-day, for what service in the days to come? We are to think of the challenge that is presented to the Christian Church by our possession of these vast resources calling us to effort commensurate with our powers.

Let us begin on the very lowest plane and think, first of all, of the abounding material resources of the Christian Church. And that we may think accurately and not too generally, I propose that we confine our

* An address at the Student Volunteer Convention, in Toronto, on March 1, 1902.

thought to the immense resources possessed by the four countries which are doing to-day nine-tenths of the missionary work of the world, and on whose shoulders the chief burden for the world's evangelization must rest. I mean Germany, Great Britain, Canada and the United States. How can we get an adequate idea of the material resources of these four great lands?

It may seem an odd way to begin, but I suppose that most people would begin by asking, first, how much these lands were in debt? For, after all, their indebtedness is an indication of their credit; and there is perhaps no better way to know how they stand among the nations than to estimate the obligations that they bear. The national debt of these four countries is $7,000,000,000. If all the countries in the world now contributing to the missionary enterprise should give every day for one year what they are now giving in a year, they would not at the end of that year have given as much as the debts of these four nations.

The annual exports of these four countries are $4,143,000,000—nearly one-half of the exports of the whole world. The revenues of these four countries amount to $1,774,000,000—more than twice the revenues of the entire heathen world. And the bank deposits in these four countries alone aggregate $9,032,000,000, an amount equal to three-halves of the revenues of the entire world or to the missionary gifts of the entire Protestant Church for more than four and a half centuries.

These resources can be put a little more strikingly still. In the first eleven months of the last year, 1901, the bank clearings of the United States were $108,724,000,000. It would take the Christian Church, giving at the present rate, 6,300 years to give as much

money for foreign missions as the bank clearings of the United States alone amounted to for the first eleven months of the last calendar year. On the thirtieth day of April of 1901 there were dealt in on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange 3,261,226 shares of stock, representing a market value of about $200,000,000. The stock transactions of that one day amounted to more than all the contributions of the Christian Church for the world's evangelization for more than ten years. You may say that this is simply dealing in paper or credits and not evidence of real wealth. Well, the deposits of the national and savings banks of the United States last year amounted to $5,641,000,000—more money than these four countries combined give to foreign missions in three hundred and twenty years.

Let us turn aside now for a moment from this method of estimating the resources of these lands, and think of what these four countries are spending on war. They have enlisted in their armies 1,148,000 men. It cost $694,000,000 to maintain these armies for one year. More than the Christian Church gives to foreign missions in thirty years was buried last year in the maintenance of the armaments and the armies of these four countries alone. Great Britain has spent already on the war in South Africa $620,000,000; and the United States has spent during the three years of the Spanish and Philippine wars $509,000,000. These two lands alone have spent in the last three years, in these two wars, more than enough money to maintain 20,000 missionaries on the foreign field for more than an entire generation.

We often speak of what the Civil War cost the United States. Nobody knows what it cost,—hundreds of thousands of lives, thousands of millions of

dollars, during the four years that that struggle was waged, not to count the immense wealth that was wiped out and can never be estimated. The Northern States alone spent on the maintenance of that struggle something like four and a half billions of dollars, which, added to the rest of the money spent during the last century on the army and navy and pensions, has made the expenses of the Government of the United States for war alone during the nineteenth century $9,500,000,000. In other words, the United States might have maintained during the entire nineteenth century a staff of 95,000 missionaries on the field every year for what she spent on her army, her navy and her pensions alone.

Let us turn away for a few moments from figures that no one comprehends; it will ease our minds to pick out a few illustrative items of expenditure. The amount spent on the Yale-Harvard foot-ball game in 1900, according to the estimate of the New York *Sun,* was greater than Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands contributed in that year for the world's evangelization. The Protestant Episcopal Church is building a great cathedral in New York. No one can have any objection to their building a cathedral. The architecture is not good, but a cathedral will be a good and useful thing, provided other things are not left undone because of it. The $15,000,000 that it is proposed to invest in the cathedral would maintain one thousand missionaries on the foreign field for fifteen years or five hundred missionaries on the foreign field for the thirty years that that cathedral will be in building. It cost, in the last municipal election (in 1901) in New New York city, to poll 670,000 votes, just $1.08 for every vote. The Protestant Church did not manage to give that much per member for the world's evangeli-

zation during the whole year. And the municipal expenses of the city of Philadelphia for 1901 were fifty per cent greater than the gifts of the entire Protestant Church throughout the world to the cause of foreign missions.

Let us come back again to the larger figures. Will you think of one great corporation, like the United States Steel Company, with a capitalization of nearly $1,500,000,000 and actual profits last year six times as great as the entire foreign missionary offerings of these four countries? The gross earnings of the railroads of the United States last year were $1,487,000,000 and the net earnings more than $525,000,000. There is one life insurance company in the United States which paid to its beneficiaries last year forty per cent more than the entire world gave to the foreign missionary enterprise during that year; and the income of that one company was three times greater than the income of all the missionary treasuries of the world combined.

You say that all this is selfish money, money that would never be available for great benevolent uses. Last year alone, $107,000,000 were given to education in the United States, and two persons gave $61,000,000 of that amount—$30,000,000 by Mrs. Stanford to the university that bears her son's name, and $31,000,000 by Mr. Carnegie, not counting his great gifts to the Scotch universities. Three times as much was given by these two individuals for education in one year as the entire Protestant Church throughout the world gave for the fulfillment in mission lands of the last passion and command of Jesus Christ.

Let us go back once more to the larger figures. The national debts of the world last year were $31,000,000,000. The wealth of the United States might have

paid these three times over, while the United States and the other countries of which I have spoken have wealth enough, if any such gigantic transaction were possible, to purchase almost the whole heathen world.

It may be said that I have been speaking of the money that belongs to the great powers, and not of the money that belongs to the Christian people in these lands. Well, let us come to that. The united population of these four countries is 178,000,000. The communicant Protestant Church membership is more than 30,000,000—more than one-sixth of the population of these countries. The aggregate estimated wealth of these four lands is over $200,000,000,000. If the Protestant communicants of these four lands have only their fair proportion of this wealth, they have $33,000,000,000 in their possession. We have not counted their children, or the great mass of people in Germany and Great Britain who are esteemed as Christian people, though they are not communicant members of the church. It would be perfectly fair to double these figures in order to arrive at a just estimate of the wealth of the Christian Churches in these lands—$66,000,000,000; and the amount that they gave to foreign missions last year was $\frac{1}{55\,00}$ of their wealth or assuming, which is under the fact, that their annual income was five per cent of their wealth, $\frac{1}{1\,75}$ of their income. It can be stated more exactly still for the United States. The population of the United States last year was 76,000,000. The communicant membership of the Protestant Churches was 18,900,000, a little more than one-fourth of the population of the country. The estimated wealth of the country was $93,000,000,000; it had increased every year during the ten years between 1890 and 1900 at the rate of $2,900,000,000 a year. In

other words, assuming that they had only their proportionate share of the wealth, the Protestant Christians of the United States alone were worth last year $23,000,000,000, and they added $725,000,000 to their wealth last year. What they gave to the foreign mission cause was one-fourth of a tithe of a tithe of a tithe of their wealth; was one-twelfth of a tithe not of their income, but of what they saved out of their income last year. After all expenses of life were paid, after all their luxuries were indulged in, after all their waste, the Protestant Christians of the United States added to their wealth last year, $725,000,000. If they had given one-tenth of what they saved last year out of their income they would have multiplied 1,200 per cent what they gave to foreign missions. And if we had added to that, last year, the income of the Church of England, five and three-quarter million pounds from its endowments, and seven and a half million pounds from gifts—$66,000,000 in all—we could have gathered from the Church of England and from the Protestant Christians of the United States, three times the amount necessary to provide a force adequate for the evangelization of the world, so far as that task can be accomplished in a single year. The Christian Church stands in the possession of material resources so great that she would not feel the expenditure of what would be necessary for the evangelization of the whole world.

Let us turn, in the second place, to the resources of the Church in life. I have said that the population of these four lands is 178,000,000 people; that they had enlisted in their armies 1,148,000 men, one out of every 150 of the population. I do not say that one out of every 150 of the population ought to go out to the mission field; but is it excessive to suggest that if we

can spare one out of 150 for our armies enlisted to kill, we ought to be able to spare one out of a thousand for the armies enlisted to save? That would send out a missionary host of 200,000. Or, if the Christian Church would send out from her ranks as large a proportion as the proportion of the citizens enlisted in the armies of these four countries, it would supply a missionary host more than twenty times the size of the entire Protestant missionary body now at work in the world. The United States alone had 77,000 soldiers in the Philippines in February. The number of soldiers of Great Britain in South Africa on the first of January was 237,000. The United States was maintaining in the Philippines more soldiers than we would need missionaries to evangelize the world, and Great Britain was maintaining three times as many in South Africa.

You say that not all of this proportion of the Christian population would be qualified for missionary service. According to *The Statesman's Year Book,* there are now in the colleges and universities of these four countries 161,000 students. About 40,000 of these will go out every year, 1,200,000 in a generation. One per cent of them would be 12,000. About four per cent of the present university population of Great Britain is enlisted in the ranks of the Student Volunteer Union. Four per cent of the university and college students in these four countries would yield all the missionaries necessary for the evangelization of the world—48,000 missionaries within the term of one generation alone. The Christian Church has ample resources in life.

Let us think, in the third place, of the resources of the Christian Church in the matter of agency, instrumentality and equipment. Think of her knowledge of the world! Where could she not go now, knowing

perfectly the conditions that she must confront, the minds of the people with whom she was to deal, the problems she was to meet? The whole world has swung within the last hundred years under the control of Christendom. Why was China not partitioned last year? Because of any power in China? Not in the least! Why does the Ottoman curse still rest on lands where since it first came it has been a barbarian and an outlaw? Why does the Turk hold Constantinople? Not because of any virtue or power in him. The Christian powers rule the world; they go where they will, do what they please; the whole world has come under the political control of the nations which can be dominated by the Christian Church. It lies not alone under their political but under their industrial control. Who owns the immense fleet of shuttles all over this world, weaving the fabric of its life into a tighter web each year? The Christian nations control the world, and they may be controlled by the Christian influence and Churches in them.

Think again of the actual missionary equipment of the Church. There are 558 missionary societies, 306 of them in these four countries, with 7,319 mission stations, 14,364 organized churches, more than 1,550,000 converts in these churches; with 94 colleges and universities having a student population greater than that of Germany and almost as great as the combined university population of Canada and Great Britain. I hesitate to speak of the immense mass of machinery that has grown up under the control of Christian missions: 20,458 schools with an attendance of children larger than the standing armies of these four nations; 379 hospitals and 782 dispensaries treating every year more patients than the entire population of the Dominion of Canada; 152 publishing houses, printing annually

nearly 400,000,000 pages and circulating the Bible in 452 living versions; and 64 missionary ships belonging exclusively to Christ, traversing every sea and almost furnishing Christian missions, if other ships were lacking, with the means of bearing the representatives of the cross to every land under the sky.

I have spoken of these things to get rid of them, not that I have any great interest in them at all; for I have but the slightest interest in the money of the Christian Church, or the number of her men, or her immense machinery. I mention them to be rid of them once for all. If forced to choose I would rather stand on the side of one truth than have all these other resources at my back. What are all these things, the money, the men, the machinery, in comparison with the moral resources that are now at the disposal of the Christian Church? (1) I mean for one thing that vision of right and duty which the Christian Church alone possesses. (2) I mean for another thing that sense of shame at seeing the right and not doing it, which the Christian religion alone fosters. Did it never strike you as significant that no other religion than that of Christ has ever bred an abhorrence of hypocrisy? Why? It is the only religion which possesses the moral power that can shame the heart of the man who dreams but does not do.

(3) I mean the stimulus, too, of splendid difficulty. It is the richest thing about this missionary enterprise that it is not an easy enterprise. I count it among the finest moral resources of the Christian Church that this task is one of enormous and stupendous difficulty. Why does a man's heart go out toward the problem of the evangelization of Islam, except because that is the hardest missionary problem in the world? The Roman Catholic Church is afraid of nothing—misery, disease,

loneliness, martyrdom;—but the Roman Catholic Church since the days of Raymond Lull has been afraid of Islam. The duty of evangelizing Islam is laid upon the shoulders of Protestant men and women, because it is the hardest work laid out for men to do. I go back again and again to that line in the last chapter of Paul's First Corinthian Epistle: "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost. For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, *and* there are many adversaries." No *but* for Paul; adversaries constituted his opportunity. They did not qualify it. The most splendid moral resource of the Christian Church is the difficulty of its undertaking. It is not what man does that exalts him; it is the great thing that he *will* do.

(4) Think, in the fourth place, of the moral resource found in the singular and solitary adaptation of Christianity to meet the absolutely irrepressible needs of life. No other religion can provide the moral sanctions with which civilization can live, except Christianity. (5) Think also of the immense moral power possessed by the Church in the unprofessional missionary body. Our political influence is spread over the world to-day. What might not be accomplished if that influence were exerted all over this world by Christian men, if every man who went out from these lands, in government service or in commercial employ, went out as John Lawrence went, as Herbert Edwardes went, as "Chinese" Gordon went, as hundreds of others have gone, who by their passion for truthfulness, by unsullied purity, by Christ-like unselfishness, commended wherever they went the Lord Christ to the hearts of men.

(6) Think of the immense power that resides in ideas themselves! We have never yet measured the full moral power that resides in a great true idea. No man can stay it. We have seen during the last forty

years a movement in Japan testifying to this power of ideas to work out such a transformation in the very character of a nation, as is likely to force us to restate all our conceptions of ethnic psychology. Nobody knows the power resident in a great idea. I believe that we need more and more to emphasize the fact that the missionary enterprise is the supreme enterprise of moral glory and power in the world. There is no other enterprise that can compare with it, from the point of view of its moral power alone.

I have mentioned that, too, to pass it by; and I come to speak, last of all, of the spiritual resources of the Christian Church. Let money and men and methods and machinery fade out of our vision. Let even the splendid moral power and resources of the Christian Church escape our thought; and let us turn lastly to think of the indescribable spiritual resources of the Church.

(1) First of all, God is with us. I do not mean this only in the ordinary sense that God goes with the men who go with the gospel. Of course that is true, but I mean it in a greater sense than that,—that beyond the reach of our furthest effort God is at work. God is at work in this world, and all history is only the orderly unfolding of his perfect and irresistible will. I confess that it is hard at times to put things together and make all this clear to one's mind. I do not understand why the Tai-ping rebellion should have failed. I do not understand what the will of God meant when it allowed the splendid opportunity that that rebellion presented to the Christian Church to pass away. There are some older people who will recall those days when that great rebellion swept up from Kwangtung to the Yangtsze valley and down the valley to the sea and obliterated every vestige of idolatry, so that the

idols came down off their pedestals, and the waters of the rivers ran full of the bodies of Chinese gods down to the Yellow Sea. The Christian Church might have gone in and built a house of Christian worship on the ruins of every dismantled temple and set up a Christian preacher on the pedestal of every discredited god. It seemed as though the very sun in the heavens stood still to give the Church her opportunity. But it passed at last. The temples rose again upon their ruins, and the idols came back to their pedestals and leered down again upon the faces of their worshipers. Why? And I do not understand why the Lord allowed the Boxer uprising to sweep hundreds of missionaries and thousands of Chinese Christians off Chinese soil. But I know that back of all these things the living God is ordering His world, and that in this attempt to evangelize the world we are not setting out on any mad human enterprise, but we are simply feeding our life into the great sweep of the orderly purposes of God. God is with us.

(2) I mention, in the second place, the spiritual resource of prayer. "If ye shall ask anything in my name," said Christ, "I will do it. All things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive." "If ye have faith . . . if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed . . . it shall be done." Do we believe that Jesus Christ was dealing sincerely by us when he spoke these words? or were these the lies of a deceiving man? How many of us are there who place our confidence in Christ and in the words of Christ about prayer? I suppose there are many of us who find no place for faith in it in our lives. We call it illogical. But Mr. Huxley would not go so far. "Not that I mean for a moment to say," he wrote in one of his strange letters

to Charles Kingsley, "that prayer is illogical. For if the universe is ruled by fixed laws, it would be just as illogical for me to ask you to answer this letter as to ask the Almighty to alter the weather." It is not prayer that is illogical, it is not prayer that is disruptive, it is not prayer that cuts across the orderly workings of the forces of God. It is the want of prayer that is disruptive and that distorts the plans of God. Years and years ago, when He outlined the development of human history, He arranged the place that the force of prayer should play in it. It is not the exercise of that force that now conflicts with His will; it is the failure of that force to do its work that interrupts the orderly workings of the plans of God and that fractures His plan here in the world. I believe in prayer as the great force in life. I believe in prayer itself as a life. I believe in prayer as a passion, as an entreaty, as the utter longing and engulfing of the will in great achievement. We have with God and of God the power of prayer.

(3) Thirdly, we have the power of sacrifice. It has been proposed now and then that we should seek in our missionary boards for a financial endowment. I would rather have the endowment of the memory of one martyr than an endowment of much money. There is no endowment so great as the endowment of the memory of sacrifice. It may be only imaginary, but again and again during the days of this conference there have risen up before my thought those faces that we have loved long since and lost awhile; those whom in the years past we saw here in these conventions, and who have gone now through sacrifice and suffering and the martyr's death, to the better service in the land where the servants of the King look upon the King's face as they serve Him. Again and again

Pitkin's face has come back to my memory, and the faces of the little children of other volunteers whom I knew in the earlier years of this Movement and who have passed away in the great floodtide of sacrifice and of loss in China. I think of Simcox and his little children. The last sight that the Chinese said they saw as they watched the burning residences just beyond the north gates of the city was Mr. Simcox walking up and down back of the flames, holding his two children by the hand. I think of that old man who came back, when he might have escaped, to confess his faith in Christ and die a martyr before his own dwelling, and of that old woman in one of the missions in Shan-tung who, confessing Jesus Christ, was ordered by the magistrate to be beaten again and again upon her lips, and who still persisted with mangled and bleeding lips to murmur her faith in Jesus. I think this Movement will be a different Movement forever because of the memory of its martyrs and of other martyrs who died with them, of those who through peril, toil and pain climbed that steep ascent of heaven. I am sure that as their memory lives with us, the grace of God will indeed be given to us to follow in their train. And, everything else aside, the spiritual power that resides in such glorious sacrifice is enough to call us out to complete the work which these began and which is surer of success because they have died.

(4) Last of all, we have the power of the Holy Spirit. I wish there were some new phraseology that would enable one to speak of the Holy Spirit in such a way that it might bite through all our conventional conceptions of Him and lay hold on the very depths and sanctities of our life. I believe in the Holy Ghost as the spiritual resource of this missionary movement.

enabling each one of us to be what without His help we can never be. I wrote to one of our missionaries a few weeks ago, in response to an earnest appeal for more reinforcements, that we could not possibly send them; the Volunteer Movement did its best, but it did not produce enough men and women to fill these places; that instead of quadrupling our numbers we should just have to quadruple ourselves and allow in some way that Spirit of God, who has never been allowed to show what He can accomplish with a human life, to do with some of us what nineteen hundred years ago He was able to do in the Roman Empire with the Apostle Paul. I believe we have not begun as yet to test the power of that Divine Spirit who can take even very unpromising men and women and give them a power beyond the power of man.

(5) I do not minimize all those supernaturalisms, those mystical dealings of the Holy Spirit with our life by which he lodges the power of God in this Movement and in all the work of man for Him; but if you ask how, in one word, He is to fulfil and realize this supernatural power in us, I answer, by the exaltation in every life of Jesus Christ and the assignment to Him of the preëminent, of the sovereign place, "When He, the spirit of truth, is come," said Jesus, "He shall not speak of Himself, He shall glorify Me, for He shall take of Mine, and shall declare it unto you." By those secrets which are His alone, the Holy Spirit is able to plant in each human life the loving and the supernatural Christ. After all He is the great resource, the great resource because He is the desire of all the nations in whom alone their life is; the great resource because in Him is all fulness of power and all treasure of knowledge and wisdom for us; the great resource because it was His lips that said, "All au-

thority hath been given unto Me, go ye therefore;" the great resource because without Him we can do nothing and in Him we can do all things. In Jesus Christ there is equipment enough,—barring all financial resources and all available life,—equipment enough to enable a very little band to go out and, sooner or later, to evangelize this whole world.

And there is in Jesus Christ not alone equipment enough for this, but there is in Him also power to rouse us to accept this equipment for ourselves. You say the Church is dead and asleep and cannot be wakened to any such great mission as this? Well, the lines were spoken of another land and of another name, but they apply as well to this:

"I know of a land that is sunk in shame,
Of hearts that faint and tire;
And I know of a name, a name, a name,
Can set this land on fire.
Its sound is a brand, its letters flame;
I know of a name, a name, a name,
Will set this land on fire."

If that name is allowed to stand out above every other name, if that voice is allowed to sound above every other voice and that hand to clasp closer than any other hand, nothing is impossible. Would that all vision of money and of men and of method and of machinery and of moral power and of martyrdom, might die out of our thought, while we fix our gaze for the last thing upon Him and hear His voice alone: "I am the Son of God. I am going forth to My war. I am the leader that has never lost. My battle is to last till all the lost are found and all the bound are free. Who will come after Me?" Would that we might rise up in the power that He can give, in answer to His appeal and go after Him?

XLIV

THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE WORLD IN THIS GENERATION

THIS is the watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. It is a fitting thing that such a Movement should have a watchword, to serve partly as a definition of its common purpose and partly as a rallying cry under which, forgetting all differences, its members can agree and advance as those bound together by one common aim.

A glance backward over history will suffice to show the value and the utility of such watchwords. Cato, closing every speech, no matter what the subject of it, with the words: "Carthage must be destroyed;" Pope Urban in the market place of Clermont giving to the crusades their watchcry, "Deus vult," or the history of Japan, since the days of Commodore Perry's visit, unfolding itself around the idea of "Foreign intercourse," and all Chinese history focusing in the opposite cry, "The expulsion of the barbarians," the great phrases of our own history, beginning with "No taxation without representation," later, "Fifty-four, forty or fight," and in our own day on the part of one political party, a well-known formula on the currency question—are all of them illustrations of the value and utility of watchwords as gathering up into themselves the common passions, the common convictions, the common aspirations of large bodies of men. And such a Movement as this Movement of students, worthier than any of these, aiming at a purpose far higher than any of these ever dreamed of, inspired by the Spirit of

the Son of Man and the Son of God, surely does well to choose for itself a watchword also.

There are four different marks that should characterize a religious watchword. It should be short; it should be striking; it should be Scriptural; it should propose something heroic. This watchword meets all these requirements.

It is short—"The Evangelization of the World in This Generation." It has even been proposed by some that it should be shortened yet more by dropping the three central words and saying "The Evangelization of This Generation," or by dropping the last three words and saying only "The Evangelization of the World." To many either of these two shorter forms would mean precisely what the watchword means now. But there are great multitudes to whom the dropping of the last three words would mean the elision of the idea of urgency, while there are others to whom the elision of the central three words would mean the dropping of the idea of universality; and such a watchword must be unmistakably both a universal and an urgent cry.

This watchword is striking, also. It might have stated simply that the aim was to preach the gospel to every creature, or some such phrase might have been chosen as "World-wide Victory," as some have proposed. But this latter is flat, inappropriate, and of doubtful meaning, and the first eighteen centuries have shown that even though those words were uttered by the lips of the Son of God Himself, they have lost their power of striking appeal to the hearts of His disciples. A watchword has been chosen that, conforming to our Lord's last command, yet by its form challenges the thought and the scrutiny of men.

And, again, this watchword is Scriptural; it is the word which the evangelists themselves used as describing the work of our Saviour, who went about preaching the glad tidings of the kingdom. The evangelization of the world—Jesus Himself said, "Disciple all nations," "Go ye into all the world," "Witness unto Me, even unto the uttermost parts of the earth." In this generation—"Every creature," said Jesus Christ.

And once again, this watchword proposes something heroic. We want no low and squalid appeals made to us. We desire that whatever is set for us to do shall tax sacrifice and heroism to the uttermost. We wish no man to summon us to any poor, paltry, meagre human enterprise. We wish a task that shall be inadequate for man in his own spirit; a task that shall be too great for any to perform save those who take it up clothed with the Spirit of the Most High.

So I say this watchword is all of these—short, striking, Scriptural and heroic.

And yet ever since this watchword was adopted it has met with objections. There have been some to cavil at it, because they said it proposed an impossibility; while there have been others who have objected to it because they have read into it objectionable meanings to which they were not prepared to give their assent. I suppose there is no one who has stated more cogently and more severely the objections that are urged against it than Lawrence in the first edition of his book *Modern Missions in the East.* First, he said, it ignores the difficulties in the way of the proper execution of the last command of Christ. It does not take into account the tremendous obstacles that are to be overcome in presenting the gospel so that it will be understood. Second, he said, it ignores the re-

sponsibility which we share with God for the results of our labour in the conversion of souls. Third, he stated, it ignores the aim of Christianizing the world as well as evangelizing it, and the fact that this can best and most quickly be accomplished by the establishment in each land of Christian institutions and the raising up of a native ministry. And fourth, he said, it stands in the service of certain pre-millennial notions with which it is consistent while with other notions it is not consistent.

Now to charge these things against this watchword is wrong. This watchword does not, in the first place, propose any superficial preaching of the gospel to the world. The word that is used, signifying the preaching of the gospel, is a stronger word than our Lord Himself used when He uttered the commission in the forms in which it is reported in the 47th verse of the 24th chapter of Luke and the 15th verse of the 16th chapter of the Gospel of Mark. The word that has been chosen proposes a more patient, reiterated and detailed proclamation of the truth than the Greek word Christ Himself used in those two chapters to which I have referred. Immense difficulties confront this task. There are millions among whom the face of a white man has never been seen. We know full well the distortions of mind, the inherited prejudice and incapacities, the ignorance and superstition of the non-Christian peoples. I think we understand in some measure the difficulties that the missionaries face in barely making their gospel understood. This watchword proposes the exhaustion of all that Jesus Christ meant when He said this gospel was to be preached to every creature. If some creatures cannot take it in, we shall at least do all of our part.

Neither is the watchword synonymous with the idea

of the Christianization of the world in this generation. That is an indefinite idea. Some tell us that the United States is Christianized, that Great Britain is Christianized, and that the idea conveyed by this watchword is the Christianization of the world. If they mean that we are to do for the world what has been done for the United States and Great Britain, I hope that much more is proposed. We shall not be satisfied if we produce in China such a condition of life that from every 60,000,000 of its people every year 100,000 drunkards go down from drunkards' hovels to drunkards' hells. We shall not be satisfied if we introduce into any non-Christian land such a condition as that there shall be saloons enough to reach in an unbroken line, forty feet front to each, from New York to Chicago. We want no such Christianization. We hope for something far better, far more salutary, far more beneficial, far more Christian than this as the ultimate result of the world's evangelization. But we do not look for it in a generation. And if they mean that every individual in the world is to be lifted up into a life of high virtue and moral character, I remind them of what Captain Mahan said not long ago, when he pointed out in a magazine article that all that is good in our civilization flows from the outstretched arms of the Crucified; that if the world is to be brought up to the moral platform on which we stand, it is to be done, not by a process of education, but by a process of conversion. And no process of world-wide conversion is possible save as it has been preceded by a process of world-wide evangelization. But we do not look for world-wide conversion in a generation nor is it proposed to Christianize the world in this generation.

This motto is not synonymous with the conversion of the world in this generation. These young men and

women believe with all their hearts that there will come a day when from the North to the South, from the rivers even to the ends of the earth, Jesus Christ Himself shall be King in a sense more real than any man has proposed, when every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God, the Father. We believe that even now

> "The hands upon that cruel tree,
> Extended wide as mercy's span,
> Are gathering to the Son of Man
> The ages past and yet to be."

And we do believe with all our hearts that no one is qualified to enter the mission field unless he has learned to share with God the responsibility attaching to us for the actual results of our work in the direct conversion of souls. We believe with all our hearts in expecting results, in going out over all this world with the gospel, and never resting until that gospel has borne its fruits in transformed and regenerated lives. But no one of us ever converted a single soul here in the United States, and we never shall be able to convert a single soul in any non-Christian land. We are willing to leave the results of our work with the sovereign will of our God and the sovereign spirits of our fellowmen. But we do know that upon our shoulders is laid the responsibility of offering to all our fellowmen, in obedience to the command of our loving God, the gospel of the grace of the Son of Man.

I think the difficulties in this matter arise from this confusion of thought. What is proposed is not a method; it is a purpose. No onslaught is made upon present missionary methods. It is not proposed to make any different use in the future of any large

increase that may come in the mission force. We believe in the solidity of the methods of missionary work now in force on the mission fields. If we were in the places of the missionaries we would do precisely as they have done. We would gather ourselves in strong centres and devote ourselves to the establishing of Christian institutions and the training of a native ministry. All wise friends of missions believe in these forms of work, in laying solid foundations and looking forward to a long, heavy campaign; most of all in our supreme duty to build up living, self-sustaining, self-propagating native churches. Scores of these Student Volunteers are looking forward to medical missionary effort, other scores to educational work. They are students training themselves for the most permanent and enduring work. They are not burning the bridges behind them and pushing forth raw and ignorant into the mission fields. What is proposed is no revolution of missionary policy or missionary organization. This Movement is only sounding a rally back to the cross and the last command. It only stands before the Church of Christ and challenges her to believe that her duty will not have been done—no, will scarcely have been begun—until she shall have raised up in this world an army of missionaries and native Christians large enough to secure the preaching of the glad tidings of Christ's life and death and blood to every creature in the world before they die.

And as for the objection that this Movement stands in the service of certain notions of eschatology, I have only to say that those who have surrendered it to those who had such notions did what they had no authority to do. By what privilege does any one turn over the right and the duty of the evangelization of

the world to those whose notions of eschatology differ from his? I am looking for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; for I remember the words which He spoke: "Watch ye, therefore, for ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning: lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping. And what I say unto you, I say unto all, watch."

"So I am watching quietly,
Every day.
Whenever the sun shines brightly,
I rise and say:
'Surely, it is the shining of His face!'
And look unto the gates of His high place
Beyond the sea;
For I know He is coming shortly
To summon me."

And daily I pray that I may so abide in Him that when He who is my life shall appear, I may have confidence and not be ashamed before Him at His coming. And I think I get from my convictions as to His second advent new strength and fresh motive. But I am not willing to acknowledge that any man who does not look with me for the coming of Jesus Christ is absolved thereby from the same share, which I think rests upon me, of responsibility for the evangelization of the world. And I never yet saw a Christian man or woman anywhere who did not believe that this work of evangelizing the world relates itself in some way to the second advent of our Lord. Do not our standards and confessions of faith recognize that, in whatever way, this work that we are doing is to issue at last in the glory of the reappearing of the Son of Man? And I see nothing to be afraid of in the

fact that what we are doing will hasten the coming of Christ, or in this relationship of our Lord's return to the work of missions, when the bishops of the Church of England, in one of the last Lambeth Conferences, did not hesitate to send out these words in their encyclical: "The cause of missions is the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ. May this be our aim, as it it will be our highest glory, to be humble instruments in carrying out the loving will of our Heavenly Father in lowliness of mind, praying for the Divine blessing and confident in the Divine promises, ministering the gospel of the grace of God to the souls that we love, and thus in promoting the Kingdom of truth and righteousness fulfil the sacred mission of the Church of God by preparing the world for the second advent of our Lord." What if it should be true that there should be some who hold distorted notions of eschatology, who still desire to share with us in the evangelization of the world? Shall we bid them to stand off because they follow not with us? Or suppose it to be true that there are men who hold distorted notions of what the evangelization of the world means, what then? Because Universalists hold distorted notions of the truth of the love of God, because fatalists hold distorted notions of the truth of the will of God, shall we therefore surrender our belief in the love and the will of God? I do not know what will come after this world has been evangelized. I do not know whether our work will be done then or not. I do not think it will. But I know that until this world is evangelized our work will never be done.

And yet there are those who say, after all these explanations have been made and the matter has been set clearly before them, that the students ought not to have a watchword that requires as much explanation

as this. At one of the meetings of the representatives of the Missionary Boards of the United States and Canada, in New York, a conscientious secretary made this objection to it. "I think," he said, "the movement ought not to have a watchword that requires so much explanation." I challenge such to find in all history a watchword that needs no explanation. Given a watchword that needs no explanation, and there would be no necessity for a movement back of it. Every great thing that has ever been proposed has demanded explanation and defence. Our Lord Himself was cast out by the most religious people of His day, and at their insistence was crucified. As I look back over history I do not know of one great movement that did not need its explanation and defence. And missionaries from China could tell us that our whole gospel is an enigma to the Chinese. Shall we therefore abandon it? If one says he is a Calvinist, many regard him as believing what he may not believe. If he says that he is an Arminian, there are many who would charge him with believing what he does not believe. Every party, every theology, every project needs its explanation and defence. This movement only takes its place with all the movements that have smitten disobedience in the face and summoned the Church to new life, humility and love, when it stands in the shadow of a watchword that challenges some one's contradiction. I think that perhaps the best justification to be found for it lies in the fact that the same secretary to whom I have referred, in a paper that he read at the same meeting, was obliged, in order to convey his ideas, himself to use the very words, "the evangelization of the world;" and that Lawrence, in his book, in the subsequent pages, comes back without one word of apology to the use in precise form of

the expression which he has reprobated and cast out in his opening chapters—"the evangelization of the world." We have no other words with which to express the idea,—the responsibility of carrying to every creature the glad tidings that the Saviour of mankind has come.

It is waste time, however, to apologize or to answer disputatively those who object to this watchword. This watchword is not in need of apology. It is an appeal and a ground of appeal. The call of this Movement is a summons to take up as Christ commands, what the Lambeth Conference called "the work that at the present time stands in the first rank of all the tasks we have to fulfill, the primary work of the Church, the work for which the Christian Church was commissioned by our Lord." And therefore on this positive side I suggest, first of all, that this watchword proposes the most true and worthy conception ever set for life in our own or any other day. Those who denounce this as a trivial and superficial task are surely thoughtless. There is in all this world no conception of life and work and sacrifice and duty that can surpass this that is set before us in the watchword of this Movement. Where can men find a more true and worthy work than this work of giving Christ to the souls of all men?

On his first visit to Northfield in 1887 Professor Drummond alluding to this matter, said: "The evangelization of the world is not the greatest thing in the world; the greatest thing in the world is doing the will of God." Granted. But is it not possible to mislead here? What was the will of God? Could God reveal His will more clearly than He did by Himself surrendering the Son of His love that He might lay down His life for the redemption of the

world? Could He have revealed His will more clearly than it was revealed when Jesus Christ upon the cross died as the propitiation not for our sins only, but also for the sins of the whole world? The will of God! Did not God's own spirit say, through the apostles, that it was God's will that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth (I. Tim. ii. 4); that He did not wish that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance (II. Peter, iii. 9)? The will of God has been made so plain to men that it can never be made more plain. "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

And to show that there are great difficulties in the way makes this work seem only the more true and the more worthy. We look back to the island of Sancian and see Francis Xavier standing with his hands outstretched to the great closed Empire, crying: "O rock, rock, when wilt thou open to my Master?" We look back to the streets of Bujia and see Raymond Lull sinking under the showers of stones hurled by Moslem hands, illustrating the words of his own great book, "He who loves not, lives not; he who lives by the Life cannot die." We look back to Coleridge Patteson, with the five wounds like the wounds of his Master, in His body, drifting in an open canoe back to his own people with a palm branch on his breast. We look to Africa, to that lone bedside at Ilala, where David Livingstone knelt down and the rain dripped from the eaves of the hut as he prayed with his last breath in his loneliness for a blessing upon any man, American, Englishman, or Turk, who should put forth one effort to heal the world's open sore. And all these lives, with their story of difficulty and obstacle and heroic endeavour, pass before us. Dismay? Discouragement? Fear? These

lives are the torches of God's flaming appeal. They only summon us with greater pathos to take up a Movement which gives opportunity for such heroisms as these. The fringe of our duty barely touched, and the restless millions waiting! These things only convince us the more that the evangelization of the world in this generation is a high and holy and true and worthy aim for the life that belongs to Christ. "I cannot but own," said the present Bishop of Durham, "that the idea seems to me nobly true and reasonable."

And yet a certain devoted advocate of foreign missions, who has done valuable service, has spoken of "that fantastic scheme of evangelizing the world in this generation." Fantastic? The missionaries of India did not think so, when in their conference in 1892-3, they passed a resolution of appeal which contained these words: "Face to face with 284,000,000 of people in this land, for whom in this generation you as well as we are responsible, we ask, will you not speedily double the number of labourers?" The missionaries of China did not think so, when at their last great conference in Shanghai they deliberately adopted a resolution on "the supreme importance of evangelistic work to the effect that it be pushed forward with increased vigour and earnestness, in order, if possible, to save the present generation," and issued two appeals, one calling for 1,000 men within five years, "in behalf of 300,000,000 of unevangelized heathen," and the other signed by Dr. Nevius and David Hill, pleading for "the speedy carrying into execution of our Lord's command, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.'" Fantastic? The apostles did not think so when Paul wrote: "Yea, so have I been ambitious to preach the gospel, not where Christ

was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation, but as it is written, They shall see to whom no tidings of Him came, and they who have not heard shall understand." Fantastic? The Son of Man did not think so, when in the hush and quiet and the holy peace of the resurrection fellowship, with hands stretched out over the world, He said to His disciples: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

I would say secondly, that not only does this Movement propose what is truest and worthiest to be set before our life, but it proposes that which is distinctly feasible and possible. We do not predict that the world is to be evangelized in this generation. We make no predictions, only we do say, with all conviction, that we believe the evangelization of the world in this generation to be a perfectly possible thing.

It is possible so far as the heathen nations are concerned. Where is there a closed door? In the three generations that have passed since William Carey did his work, the walls of exclusion have broken down around every non-Christian land. We are not entitled to say, that there is one spot in the world where the Christian Church if it wants to, may not go with its message of love and life of God. All this world is open as never before, the vast multitudes of its peoples accessible as never before to the preaching of the gospel of God's Son.

The evangelization of the world in this generation is possible as far as the Church is concerned. The Church of Jesus Christ has the men. Let us leave out of account altogether for the moment the mighty forces which other lands can pour into this great work, and let me point out that in this land alone we have 100,000 ordained ministers, many of whom,

(is it not true)? could be spared to this land without over-seriously crippling the evangelization of our home peoples. That same number equally distributed over the world, would accomplish what I think Dr. Nevius once proposed—viz., that everywhere there should be one ordained missionary set down in the midst of a population of 20,000. With one missionary in the midst of every 20,000, we could be able in one generation, with an adequate native ministry, to preach the gospel intelligibly to every soul in the world. The Church of Christ has men enough. And the Church of Christ has wealth enough.

And no new organizations are necessary. We need only the expansion and enlargement of the instruments and agencies that have been already developed.

And lastly, not alone is the evangelization of the world in this generation a true and worthy conception; not alone does it propose that which is distinctly possible; but it sets before us also that which is our supreme, our primary, our imperious duty. Would that, laying aside all high thoughts, we could simply come back quietly to the very foundations of our Christian faith and our Christian life, and in some slight measure realize what it was that eighteen centuries ago took place, when the gates of Heaven opened, and from the glory of the Father came out One to wear the livery of a servant, to walk up and down among men as One who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and who upon a cross between two thieves, laid down His life for our life and the life of the world! Would that recognizing what Jesus Christ did we might understand also for whom Jesus Christ did this! Not for any little company of those who were to be gathered out of the world to belong to Him while the great multitudes stand beyond the pale of His love—

He died the propitiation, not for our sins only, but also for the sins of the whole world. And would that, recognizing these things, we might recognize also that the path which He Himself trod, He trod that we, who are not greater than our Master and our Lord, might tread also, following in His footsteps, and, obedient to those last great commands in which He gathered up the whole spirit and character and purpose and principle of His life and mission. In the face of "our Lord's great commission to evangelize all nations" as the Lambeth Conference calls it, who dare say that we are not charged with the responsibility of evangelizing this world? Who dare stand in the presence of the multitudes who have only one Name given whereby they must be saved and only one door furnished through which they may go in to see the Father, and deliberately say to them: "This gospel is ours; it is not for you?" How dare any of us stand before the home Church whose life is low and poor and squalid and shabby because of the want of that great expansive sacrifice that should send its sons and daughters to the uttermost parts of the earth —how dare any of us stand under the shadow of the cross of Jesus Christ and say that it is not our task and our privilege to bear His gospel through the whole world and to every creature?

And how is His gospel to be borne through the world to every creature unless it be done in the period of one generation's existence? We have no duty toward the tenants of eternity. The dead have passed forever beyond our reach. Our children will care for the un-born of the non-Christian world. We stand face to face between the eternity passed and the eternity to come, with hundreds of millions of needy men, ignorant of the name of Jesus Christ, confronting us.

How shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent? And how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those who will carry to them glad tidings and who will publish peace!

The Evangelization of the World in this Generation is no play-word. It is no motto to be bandied about carelessly. The Evangelization of the World in this Generation is the summons of Jesus Christ to every one of the disciples to lay himself upon a cross, himself to walk in the footsteps of Him who, though He was rich, for our sakes became poor, that we through His poverty might be rich, himself to count his life as of no account that he may spend it as Christ spent His for the redemption of the world. This is the call of Christ in this world of ours. Shall we heed that call?

Years ago Christ trod His way of weary suffering by Himself. "Who is this," said one who saw Him coming. "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? 'I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save.' Wherefore art Thou red in thine apparel, and Thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat? 'I have trodden the winepress alone, and of the people there was none with Me.'" Once He went out alone. Shall He go alone still?

XLV

THE SPEEDY BRINGING OF THE WORLD TO CHRIST

THE problem of the salvation of the world is a problem in the will of God. It is the will of God that it should not remain so, but that two other wills should be introduced to joint responsibility and privilege;—the will of the Church, to which the gospel has already come, and the will of the world, to which the gospel is yet to go. Midway between the will of the loving God desiring to save the world, and the will of the world needing to be saved, stand the men of the Church who hold in trust the gospel of God given for the salvation of the world. The agency at the disposal of these men in swaying the will of God is prayer. The agency at their disposal in molding the will of the world is the preaching of Jesus Christ. Powerful as is the ministry of prayer in this and in all the activities of the Church when rightly used, it is both a futility and a hypocrisy unless coupled with an effort proportionate to the love of God, the Church's duty, and the world's need, to take to the world which is in ignorance of the gospel, the knowledge of its only hope and life. For us, accordingly, the problem of the salvation of the world reduces itself to the problem of the prayerful effort speedily to take Jesus Christ to the world.

But can we take Him speedily? It might be answered that the question is an irrelevant one. A Church that has always refused to condition responsibility for action upon ability to act, when speaking to the unregenerate, has no right to raise questions of

difficulty when confronted with her own enterprises of duty. It is conceivable that through long disobedience and neglect, the atrophy of her spiritual powers and the enervation due to her selfishness, the Church might have lost the fresh vigour and the fervent faith necessary for the speedy evangelization of the world; but incapacities self-created cannot constitute exemptions from duty. No difficulty that the most reluctant Christian can invent can suffice to nullify for us the ever-living and imperative obligation to make Jesus Christ known to all mankind.

But frankly, and confronting the problem of the world's evangelization, there is not one of us who dare allege that it is an impossible duty. I repeat that we are able to make Jesus Christ known to the world at once, so far as the world is concerned. It is open now to the gospel as it never has been before. A hundred years ago the world paused on the seacoast of Africa, and its maps of the interior revealed its absolute ignorance of the continent. The Mohammedan world, bigoted and not understood, was without a single Christian missionary. The East India Company pursued the consistent policy of excluding missionaries from its territories in India, and sought to include all India in its territories. The cannon of the Opium War had not yet brought China the blessings of the gospel, and the curse of the traffic which gave its name of infamy to the war. The edicts which prohibited Christian faith still stood by the roadsides in Japan, while the chains of Rome's political sovereignty still bound without exception the Latin states of the Western Hemisphere. The world was a sealed world; as sealed against the gospel as was the heart of the Church against the purpose to proclaim it. Now, we stand before a world with all its gates ajar. We have

no right to say of any single country longer that it is barred against the gospel. If we say this still of Afghanistan and Tibet or of any other land, it may be truly answered that the Church has no right to call any door closed which she has had neither faith nor courage to attempt to open and pass through.

To our ability to enter the whole world must be added now our knowledge of the physical conditions under which the mission work must be done, our acquaintance with the opinions and superstitions of its people, our experiences of the real character of the missionary problem, of the exact difficulties it must meet, and the precise work it has to do; while the genius of a hundred years of the most fertile intellectual activity of the race has spent itself in devising means and facilities for the use of the Church in the day when she shall awake to perceive the true glory of her mission in the world.

Not alone in taking Jesus Christ to the world at once are there no insuperable hindrances, so far as the world is concerned, but there is nothing in the equipment of the Church to forbid. It was reported at the Ecumenical Conference that there are now five hundred and thirty-seven missionary societies, representing hundreds of branches of the Christian Church. It is a pathetic commentary upon the prayer of our Lord, "That they may be one even as We are one, I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be perfected in one, that the world may know that Thou didst sent Me and lovedst them even as Thou lovedst Me," but it is evidence that the Church possesses all the necessary missionary agencies. She has also sufficient agents. It is said that in this generation there will go out from our American higher institutions of learning two million young men and women. A fraction of this im-

mense multitude added to the force upon the field and properly supported by an army of native agents, would suffice to make Jesus Christ known to every creature before the younger generation of to-day has passed away. And the Church has ample means. As has been already shown, an insignificant fraction of the Church's income would suffice to support the propaganda necessary for the world's evangelization.

Not alone has the Church the agencies, the agents and the means, she has also available the omnipotent resources which I have already described. The power of the Holy Spirit, using her present equipment, would carry at once on the lips of a Church made up of truly earnest men, the gospel of the world's Redeemer to all the multitudes for whom He died. "If we could bring back the Church of Pentecost to earth," said Bishop Thoburn, "or, rather, if we could receive anew universally the spirit of that model Church of all ages, the idea of evangelizing the world in a single generation would no longer appear visionary; but on the other hand it would seem so reasonable, so practicable, and the duty to perform it so imperative, that every one would begin to wonder why any intelligent Christians had ever doubted its possibility, or been content to let weary years go by without a vast universal movement throughout all the Churches of Christendom at once to go forward and complete the task." And what the Church could do if possessed once more by the spirit of the living God, she ought to do. "It is the duty of Christians," as Dr. Joel Parker declared, "to evangelize the whole world immediately. The present generation is competent under God to achieve the work. There are means enough in the power of the Church to do it. There is money that can be counted in millions that

can be spared without producing any serious want. There are men enough for the missionary work." Whatever may have been the Church's position in any earlier day, her position now is one of perfect competence to obey literally the last command of Jesus Christ. As one of the missionaries in China, Dr. Calvin Mateer, a sober man, has said: "Once the world seemed boundless and the Church was poor and persecuted. No wonder the work of evangelizing the world within a reasonable time seemed hopeless. Now steam and electricity have brought the world together. The Church of God is in the ascendant. She has well within her control the power, the wealth, and the learning of the world. She is like a strong and well-appointed army in the presence of the foe. The only thing she needs is the spirit of her Leader and a willingness to obey His summons to go forward. The victory may not be easy but it is sure." If this were a human venture men would not be wasting their time in the discussion of its practicability. Men and money in unstinted measure would be poured out if this were a war for the acquisition of territory, for the subjugation of nations, for the suppression of disorder. Difficulties arise before our own country in the Philippines, a small fraction of whose eight million people are in insurrection against authority legitimately established over them. We at once maintain in the Philippines an army five times the number of all the missionaries sent out by the whole Protestant Church for the evangelization of the world. Two small states resist the power of the British Government and, we must believe, the movement of destiny in South Africa, and Great Britain maintains there an army more than three times as great as would be required for the evangelization of the world, main-

tained at an expenditure that would suffice to support a missionary enterprise as glorious as the slaughter of men who believe they are fighting for their liberties is sad. The Standard Oil Company sends its flickering lights throughout the length and breadth of Asia, and laughs at the difficulties that must be overcome. There will be thousands of households lighted by our oil to-night in the villages of Asia where the true Light has never shined.

If we were in earnest about it, if we truly believed that it was a great thing to do, a thing that must be done, if Christ were enough to each one of us to make us think it worth while to put Him in the reach of our fellow-men, we could evangelize the world speedily with neither difficulty nor sacrifice worthy of the name.

But what do we mean by "speedily?" How speedily must Jesus Christ be made known to the world? The missionaries in China, sensible men, misled by no hallucination and pursuing no fanciful illusion, gave us their reply twenty-five years ago: "We want China emancipated from the thraldom of sin in this generation. It is possible. Our Lord has said, 'According to your faith be it unto you.' The Church of God can do it, if she be only faithful to her great commission. . . . Standing on the borders of this vast empire, we, therefore, one hundred and twenty missionaries, from almost every evangelical religious denomination in Europe and America, assembled in General Conference at Shanghai, and representing the whole body of Protestant missionaries in China—feeling our utter insufficiency for the great work so rapidly expanding, do most earnestly plead, with one voice, calling upon the whole Church of God for more labourers. And we will as earnestly and unitedly plead at the Throne of Grace that the Spirit of God

may move the hearts of all to whom this appeal comes, to cry, 'Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?' And may this spirit be communicated from heart to heart, from church to church, from continent to continent, until the whole Christian world shall be aroused, and every soldier of the cross shall come to the help of the Lord against the mighty." What evangelization can there be that is not immediate? If I were a heathen man, the evangelization that did not reach me in my lifetime would be no evangelization at all. And the world in which we as Christians are to preach the gospel is this present world, with its now living multitudes of men and women for whom Jesus Christ died. As the missionaries in the Sandwich Islands declared in their appeal more than two generations ago, "It is not possible for the coming generation to discharge the duties of the present, whether it respects their repentance, faith, or works; and to commit to them our share of preaching Christ crucified to the heathen is like committing to them the love due from us to God and our neighbour. The Lord will require of us that which is committed to us."

Yet there will creep about in our hearts, lurking where the light cannot reach, the un-Christian doubt, "Is it necessary for us to concern ourselves with this thing? Suppose we can evangelize the world, why should we? In the providential ordering of history, eighteen hundred years have passed by and the thing has not been done. What is there to show that a duty that lay dormant for these centuries by the will of God, is acute and pressing now?" One hundred years ago men talked this way. "Let us pray that Christ's kingdom may come," said Alexander Carlyle, opposing the establishment of foreign missions in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1796, "as we

are sure it shall come in the course of providence." That was the tone of that day. Let the Kingdom bring itself! That view is intelligible on the lips of unconverted men whether in or out of the Church, but it is not intelligible on the lips of Christians. If the world has no need of Christ, we have no need of Him. If the evangelization of China must be left to providence unaided by the Church, the evangelization of America and the support of Christian ministers here may be left to the same kindly unaided beneficence. Whatever Christ is to me He can be to every man in this world. If I cannot live without Him, no other man can live without Him. As He only has healed our lives, comforted our hearts, broken the chains of our sins, and given us assured hope of what lies beyond, He only can do these things for all mankind. And not only does the world need Him now, but we need to give Him now to the world. The world will not more surely die without Him, than we will die with Him if we refuse to obey Him, and look with careless, Christless hearts upon the world that waits for Him. The Lambeth Conference touched the profound Christian truth when it declared, "The fulfillment of our Lord's great commission to evangelize all nations is a necessary and constant element in the spiritual life of the Church and of each member of it." Can you conceive of anything more fatal, more monstrous, more immoral than a doctrine which declares men lost without Christ, and then refuses to make Christ known to them? The Church that proclaims its belief in the Lord of all, and declares that there is none other name under heaven, given among men whereby we must be saved than the name of Christ, and does not at once make it its business to make Jesus Christ known to the whole world, is either insincere in its

professions of belief, or it presents a spectacle of a debased sense of moral integrity than which I can conceive of scarcely anything more despicable. It will not do for us to cover the want of present missionary impulse with the excuse of prospective missionary purpose. As Eugene Stock has said: "For whom are we responsible to give them the gospel? Certainly not for past generations. They are beyond our reach. Nor for future generations primarily, although what we do now may have great influence upon them. But for the present generation we are surely responsible. Every living African or Persian or Chinaman has a right to the good news of salvation. They are for him; and as a Chinaman once said to Robert Stewart, 'we break the eighth commandment if we keep them back from him.' So if we vary the form of the phrase and simply say the evangelization of this generation, this appears to be a plain and elementary duty. We may not have the expressed command of Christ for it, but we have the general command to make the gospel known to those who know it not. There seems no escape from the conclusion that the duty to make it known to all, that is, to all now alive, lies in the nature of the case. This doubtless should be our honest and definite aim." And if the world needs the gospel and we need at once to give the world the gospel, Christ also needs the immediate preaching of His gospel to the world. Our delay is not alone the source of loss and death to ourselves and to men; it prolongs the travail of the soul of Christ, and defers the long expected day of His triumph.

"The restless millions wait"

is only a half truth;

"Christ also waits."

And what are God's present dealings with us designed to teach us if not that He is ready to do great things? As Dr. Wilder used to say: "The largeness of God's blessing on the puny efforts already made for evangelizing the heathen, demonstrate beyond the possibility of a doubt, that we are well able to evangelize the *whole* world in a single generation." Bishop Moule, of Hangchow, told me when in China, that when he came to Hangchow there were forty Protestant Christians in the Chinese Empire. He has seen in his lifetime the Protestant Church in China multiplied two hundred and fifty thousand per cent., and penetrate to almost every prefecture of the Empire. Of the great province of Manchuria, a barren field twenty years ago, Dr. Ross, of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, recently declared: "The gospel is speedily gaining such a rapid diffusion that we may anticipate at no distant date its contact with every village and town in the country." And there is nothing in God to bar our seeing all over the world repetitions of the triumph which George Pilkington describes in Uganda: "A hundred thousand souls brought into close contact with the gospel, half of them able to read for themselves; two hundred buildings raised by native Christians in which to worship God and read His word; two hundred native evangelists and teachers entirely supported by the native church; ten thousand copies of the New Testament in circulation; six thousand souls eagerly seeking daily instruction; statistics of baptism, of confirmation, of adherents, of teachers, more than doubling yearly for the last six or seven years, ever since the return of the Christians from exile; the power of God shown by changed lives; and all this in the centre of the thickest spiritual darkness in the world! . . . 'The world to be evangelized in

this generation'—can it be done? Kyagwe, a province fifty miles square, has had the gospel preached, by lip and life, through almost every village in the space of one short year, by some seventy native evangelists, under the supervision of only two Europeans! The teacher on Busi has by this time probably accomplished his purpose of visiting every house in that island with the message of salvation on his lips. Soon we may hope that there will be no house left in Uganda that has not had God's message brought thus to its very threshold." We need to recall in this matter that it is for God that we are working. I have said that if this were a human enterprise men would scorn to waste time in discussing its feasibility. Shall we have less faith in God than men have in themselves? If the work of evangelizing the world at once as a human enterprise is practicable, does it become impracticable when we realize that it is a divine enterprise? We keep falling back upon this fallacy in our thoughts about it. We need to remind ourselves of the question with which Sojourner Truth rebuked Frederick Douglass, when in one of his moods of despair as to his people;—the question alleged to have been addressed by his wife to Martin Luther also: "Is God dead?" Who set us this work to do? On whose errand is it that we are going? Whose kingdom is to be established? It was the Lord of heaven and earth to whom power was given, and nothing is impossible with Him, who, when He said, "Go ye," said in the same breath, "And I am with you."

Now, if we can, and we ought, shall we? The general duty of world-evangelization the Church has acknowledged for years, and neglected. Is this not the hour to acknowledge our duty once again, and

perform? But men say, is it not God's rule to work by slow and unperceived change, lodging in human life principles which creep imperceptibly outward until at last great changes are wrought before men are aware? Do not Schmidt and Lecky and a hundred more demonstrate "that social emancipation has been far more the result of the indirect than of the direct action of Christianity. Even slavery was allowed to exist within the borders of the Church until the leaven of the Christian spirit had so operated that slavery became impossible. Great changes come slowly." This is true; but it was in a cataclysm of wrath against the iniquity of human slavery, and of pity for the human slave, and of passion, good and bad, that at last the chains of that iniquity were broken. It is true that the forces of God work quietly and imperceptibly until the hour of judgment strikes. There were the long expectant years of prophecy borne with the agony of hope deferred, but then at last there came a man sent from God, whose name was John, and on his heels the Messiah broke upon the nation. The long centuries we call the Dark Ages threw their black shadows over the world, and the forces of God wrought silently and unperceived beneath; but at last the thunders of the Reformation tore the sky, and great lies were slain in an hour that had worn crowns and held sceptres and damned men.

"'Tis first the night, stern night of storm and war,
Long night of heavy clouds and veiléd skies;
Then the far sparkle of the morning star
That bids the saints awake, and dawn arise."

God's method in history is to prepare, but it is also, having prepared, to strike; and His method we

must believe in the world's evangelization is the same. "Many persons mistake the way in which the conversion of India will be brought about," said Sir Charles Trevelyan. "I believe it will take place wholesale, just as our own ancestors were converted. The country will have Christian instruction infused into it in every way by direct missionary education, and indirectly by books of various sorts, through the public papers, through conversations with Europeans, and in all the conceivable ways in which knowledge is communicated. Then at last when society is completely saturated with Christian knowledge, and public opinion has taken a decided turn that way, they will come over by thousands." But just when India, or any other land is ready to swing over to Christ, we may not tell. That this is the day when the trial should be made and the opportunity given, we dare not doubt. For one hundred years the forces which are pouring into the world still from the pierced hands of Christ have been fashioning in heathen lands the thoughts of men, shattering their superstitions, cutting away old restraints, and shaping the whole course of their unresting movement. But all this so to speak indirect evangelization is but preparatory to that supreme discharge of her duty by the Christian Church, which shall show to the whole world that God has been making it ready to become the kingdom of his Son. To do this thing now is the duty of this generation. "The world has too long been under the influence," as the Sandwich Islands missionaries said, "of the scheme of committing the heathen to the next generation." "I regard the idea of the evangelization of the world in this generation as entirely scriptural," says Dr. J. C. R. Ewing, of India. "'The gospel to every creature'—that means to every man and woman living

now. It is the fault of the Church if from amongst the present living generation any advance to old age without hearing of Christ and his salvation."

Some such noble idea as this is the vital need of the Christian Church. There was a time when the Church had to fight doctrinally for her life; when heresy after heresy, involving the most fundamental issues in the evangelical faith assailed her, and so hedged her in that the mere struggle for existence consumed all her strength. That day went by long ago. For the Church now to spend her whole strength on that battlefield is to war with phantoms, save as the neglect of personal living duty will furnish the very soil in which fresh heresies will grow. Let her hear the call of the Lord of the harvest bidding her go out now into the highways and the hedges and the ungarnered fields, and compel men to come in. A Church wholly surrendered to Christ's personal leadership, utterly bent upon the largest human service, filled with the passion of a great and divine love, will escape heresy by subduing unbelief. The Church needs a supreme world purpose, such as this of which I have been speaking, that will forbid our trifling away the time of God, playing with details while men die. And if you wish to lay hold upon the hearts of the young men and the young women, without whom the Church cannot live, you must offer them some such masterful mission as this. It was this that thrilled the early Church. "Yea, so have I been ambitious," said Paul, "to preach the gospel not where Christ was already named, lest I should build on another man's foundation; but as it is written, They shall see, to whom no tidings of Him came, and they who have not heard shall understand." You must win young men and young women by offering them the glory of a great

service, which is also a great sacrifice. They are lost to the Church that does not look out upon the world with the very eyes of Christ, and hunger for it with His hunger, and teach its children to live for it and to die for it with devotion like His.

It cannot be denied that the work is enormous. But its difficulties are its glory. Christianity from the beginning has "relished tasks for their bigness," as Stanley said of Glave, "and greeted hard labour with a fierce joy." "I am happy," wrote Neesima, "in a meditation on the marvellous growth of Christianity in the world, and believe that if it finds any obstacles it will advance still faster and swifter, as the stream does run faster when it does find any hindrances on the course."

I have purposely said this to suggest and make room for all the objections which lack of faith and lack of love can bring to birth in our hearts. The immediate evangelization of the world, men say, would involve superficial work; let us be slow and thorough. Slow and thorough is one thing; slow and stagnant is another. Superficial work! Who proposed that the world should be superficially evangelized? I have quoted missionaries, men like Dr. Mateer and Dr. Ewing, who are engaged in educational work in the most thorough educational institutions in China and North India, for the purpose of showing that men who are doing the most solid and substantial mission work in the world are not blinded thereby to the Church's immediate duty to make Jesus Christ known to every creature. Superficial work! I suppose that in our Lord's parable that husbandman escaped this peril who wrapped his pound in a napkin and hid it in the ground. But the Lord gave his commendation to the man who, having five pounds, traded with them super-

ficially, on the face of the ground, and made with them five other pounds. We have betrayed our Lord under the pretence of doing thoroughly his work in this land, where we have sown the seed over and over again in ground already sowed, while two-thirds of the human race have been allowed to live and die in ignorance of the fact that there is a Saviour or any love of God. And in our folly we have forfeited the richest spiritual blessing at home by deliberately transgressing the plainest divine law, "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth, and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty." Or, it is said that the project of evangelizing the world, practical enough theoretically, is actually impracticable. Men are too much engrossed, it is said, in the pursuit of gain.

> "By other sounds the world is won
> Than that which wails from Macedon;
> The roar of gain is round it rolled,
> Or men unto themselves are sold,
> And cannot list the alien cry,
> 'Oh, hear and help us lest we die!'"

But what is this but the confession that we cannot do our duty because we will not? Or, it is said that the immediate evangelization of the world is a visionary and childlike project. I think it is. And where there is no vision, the people perish; "and except ye be converted and become as little children, ye cannot see the kingdom of God." It is a project of childlike faith and of glorious vision. And these are the visions of it: A Church obedient to her Head, warm with the glow of a great love, and thrilled with all the activities of a perfect service; a redeemed world free from the bondage of its sin, and worshipping with glad hearts; and in innumerable homes, and with hearts and homes

alike purified, adoring the world's Redeemer; and a reigning Saviour crowned at last, rejoicing in the love of His Church, and satisfied with the success of His work for the world. These are the visions which the evangelization of the world lifts before our eyes. Is there anything to shrink from in them? Could there be visions more enticing?

Let us go up at once to complete this work. Whether or not the whole Church of Christ will awake to her duty, at least let us not be asleep to ours. Whether the whole Church can evangelize the whole world or not, each branch of the Church can evangelize the fields for which it is immediately responsible. What Dr. Moffett says of Korea, is essentially true of all of them. "Korea can be evangelized within a generation, but in order to accomplish it there is needed an added force of forty thoroughly qualified missionaries of enthusiastic, victorious faith in God and his message. It would also be necessary to have on the home field, a Church willing to send them and to stand back of them in prayer, led by pastors who will influence their people to appreciate the privilege as well as the duty of the Church to perform its God-given office of world-wide evangelization." There are many things for which we are not responsible, which sweep out beyond the reach of our influence or direction. But for this one thing we are. As the appeal of the Ecumenical Conference to the Christian Church declared: "Entrusting to Him the certain guidance of the great tides of influence and life which are beyond our control, it is for us to keep the commandments of His Son, and carry to those for whom He lived and died and rose again the message of the goodness and love of their Father and ours. We who live now and have this message must carry

it to those who live now and are without it. It is the duty of each generation of Christians to make Jesus Christ known to their fellow-creatures. It is our duty through our preachers and those forces and institutions which grow up where the gospel prevails, to attempt now the speedy evangelization of the whole world. We believe this to be God's present call, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' We appeal to all Christian ministers set by divine appointment as leaders of the people, to hear this call and speak it to the Church, and we appeal to all God's people to answer as with one voice, 'Lord, here am I, send me.'"

The speedy bringing of the world to Christ is a consequence; the speedy taking of Christ to the world is the necessary preliminary. The world can never be brought to Christ until Christ is first brought to the world. It is vain for us to ask God for one, until we have done the other. If we bring Christ to the world, God will bring the world to Christ. And the fact that God has bidden us to do this thing, lifts our duty at once above all cavil and excuse. Let us persuade ourselves of this once for all by these three great testimonies: "During the latter part of these eighteen centuries," said the Earl of Shaftesbury, at the Liverpool Missionary Conference, "it has been in the power of those who hold the truth, having means enough, having knowledge enough, and having opportunity enough, to evangelize the globe fifty times over." "It is my deep conviction," said Simeon Calhoun, the Saint of the Lebanon, as the Syrians called him, in his dying words, "and I say it again and again, that if the Church of Christ were what she ought to be, twenty years would not pass away until the story of the Cross will be uttered in the ears of every living

man." And the testimony of One greater than either of these, whose name is above every other name, who, in the days of His flesh, sat wearied by Jacob's well, and lifting up His eyes and looking upon the people as they came to Him from the village, drawn by the testimony of the woman that He was the Christ, said to His disciples, " Say not ye there are yet four months, and then cometh the harvest? Behold I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they are white already unto harvest." The fields that were white then, are white now, if we had but eyes to see, and hearts to heed. And the Lord of the harvest waits patiently for His Church to hear His call and come to His help.

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